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MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN EVELYN, ESQ. F.R.S.

AUTHOR OF THE "SYLVA," &c. &c.

COMPRISING HIS DIARY, FROM 1641 TO 1705-6,

AND A SELECTION OF HIS FAMILIAR LETTERS.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED,

The Private Correspondence

BETWEEN

KING CHARLES I. AND SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS;

ALSO BETWEEN

SIR EDWARD HYDE, AFTERWARDS EARL OF CLARENDON,

AND SIR RICHARD BROWNE,

AMBASSADOR TO THE COURT OF FRANCE, IN THE TIME OF KING CHARLES I. AND THE USURPATION.

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS.

By WILLIAM BRAY, Esq. F.A.S.

A NEW EDITION, IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

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1827.

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PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

KING CHARLES I.

AND HIS

SECRETARY OF STATE, SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS,

WHILST HIS MAJESTY WAS IN SCOTLAND, 1641,

AND AT OTHER TIMES DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

ORIGINAL LETTERS.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

NICOLAS, Your aduertisments to me,* is so far from displeasing to me, that I comand you to continew it, & that as often as conuenientlie ye may. Deliuer thease

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* This letter is evidently the first sent by the King to Sir Edward Nicholas, in answer to his first communication respecting the proceedings subsequent to his Majesty's departure from the metropolis to settle affairs in the Scottish Parliament. This journey of the King was by no means agreeable to the English Parliament; for, so late as the 7th of August, the Commons desired the Lords to join with them in an attempt to delay the King's departure for fourteen days. Charles, however, gave his assent on that day to several Bills both public and private, and then bade the Parliament Farewell! The next day, although Sunday, the Commons actually sat, for the purpose of forming and presenting a petition on the subject. On the 9th, his Majesty again gave the royal assent to four Bills, and took leave a second time, telling the Parliament that he should return before Michaelmas, if possible. At two o'clock he set off, accompanied by the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Richmond. His journey must have been performed with a rapidity nearly equal to that of the present day.

incloseds. (I hope ye know by that yesterday that on [one] is to my Wyfe.) So I rest

Your friend,

Eden. 15 Aug. 1641. CHARLES R.

Aduertise my Wyfe vpon euery dispache, that she may (if she will) wryt; & make one when & as often as she will comand you.

The QUEEN to Sir E. NICHOLAS.

Maistre Nicholas, I haue reseaued your letter: and that you send me from the King: which writes me word he as been vere well reseaued in scotland: and that both the armie: and the people: have shued a creat joye to see the King: and such: that theay say was neuer seen before: pray god it may continued: for the letter that I writt to you counserning the commissionaires it is them that are toe dispatch bussinesse in the Kings absence: I thank you for your care of geuing me aduises of what passes at London: and soe I reste

Your frand,

Otelands,* the 19 August. HENRIETTE MARIE R.

Indorsed, "For Mistre Nicholas."

In Sir E. N.'s writing:

"19o Aug. 1641. The Queenes ler to me."

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* Oatlands at this period was the Queen's property, having been granted to her some years before, by the King, for her life. In the preceding year, 1640, her son Henry of Oatlands was born there. Oatlands had long been a royal mansion; but the house then stood on low ground, near the present kitchen garden (see "History of Surrey"); and was pulled down during the Usurpation, with the exception of a small part, which was again given up to the Queen upon the Restoration.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

Yesterday I receaved yor Maties of the 17th of this month, & in it one to the Queene, & another to my Lo: Keeper: * I forthwh presented yor Maties to the Queene, wch when she had read, her Matie comanded me to forbeare to deliver that to my Lo. Keeper, & took it into her owne custody, for that her Matie said it was written att her entreaty, & that there is now noe occasion for ye delivery of it, as her Matie tells me she will by her next satisfy yor Matie, & I hope I have donne nothing but my duty in obeying her Maties comaund touching that letter.

Apostyled in the King's writing: †

Ye ar verrie right

Satterday morning the Comittees did set forth towards Scotland, ‡ & that day the Peers adiourned their House till too-morrow: § it is conceaved there will not be much

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* Sir Edward Lyttelton, created Lord Lyttelton in this year.

† What is so apostyled by the King will be printed in the margin.

‡ These Commissioners were appointed by both Houses on the 16th of August, with instructions to negociate with the Scottish Parliament respecting the affairs of that kingdom.

§ The Commons, however, had been very busy since the King's departure: having brought fresh charges against the impeached Bishops; voted Perry, Jermyn, and Suckling, guilty of high treason; and established a complaint against the Queen's Capuchin Friars. Though the King was gone, yet Commissioners were left to exercise the royal functions in Parliament, and the assent was given to the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage on the 16th of August.

business donne now in P'liam't untill they shall understand of the arrivall and recepcon of their Comittees by yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, whereon all their eyes are fixed.*

The Constable of y^{e} Tower is comanded by y^{e} Lo^{des} House forthw^{h} to reside constantly in the Tower, & order is given (as I am credibly tould) that there shal be 40 souldiers added to reinforce that garrison, w^{ch} new soldiers are to be contynued & paid by the P'liam't here during yo^{r} Ma^{ties} absence.

Upon a Conference had betweene both Houses, there is an order of P'liam't for y^{e} present disarming of all Recusants,† and some Comittees of the Houses are appointed to see y^{e} statutes on that behalf forthw^{h} put in execucon.

Upon consideracon of y^{e} great ielousies that are raysed here & spread abroade, as if there were some intencons to make use of some of y^{e} armyes to y^{e} preiudice of y^{e} Parliam^{t}, and upon the apparent delay that hath been used in y^{e} paying off, & disbanding y^{e} English armye, w^{ch} hath bene cleerely throughe y^{e} negligence of those whom y^{e} Parliam^{t} hath imployed in that service, I humbly beseech yo^{r} Ma^{tie} to give me leaue to offer to yo^{r} Ma^{ties} consideracon, whether it may not be fitt for yo^{r} Ma^{tie} p'sently to wryte yo^{r} l'res to the Speaker of one or both Houses, taking notice of y^{e} delay & sloth that hath bene

Heerein I haue tane your aduyce, the inclosed to the Keeper being to that effect, onlie I would haue you aduertice my wyfe of it.

* Before adjournment they made fresh orders against the Recusants, and also for raising money speedily for the use of the army.

† This originated in a complaint from the Commons to the Lords on the 17th of August, that the laws for disarming them were neglected, and that many of them were even screened by members of the Upper House.

used in ye disbanding the armies, wch have bene kept on foote here to ye great greevaunce of yor subcts in ye North, & att a heavy charge to yor kingdome in England in g'rall, notwithstanding yor Matie hath from tyme to tyme by frequent speeches to both Houses often called upon them to ease this yor kingdome of that greevous burthen. Yor Matie now understanding, that (when by ye agreemt wth the Scots all the Englishe forces are to be disbanded) ye Lo. G'rall hath advertised ye Houses that there wants 140. thousand pounds to finishe that worke, therefore yor Matie may be pleased to quicken the Parliamt here, & to let them know how sensible yor Matie is of ye long sufferings of yor people of England, & to comaund the Houses, (all other matters set apart,) forthwith to apply themselves to free this yor kingdome of soe heavy & dayly a charge. Such a letter would let yor people here see yor care & affec'on to them, & make appeare cleerely to the world that there is noe intenc'on on yor Maties pte to make use of the army here, as may be otherwise insinuated.

I humbly beg yor Maties p'don for this bold & tedious discourse, wch is noe other then an effect of the dutifull affeccon of

Yor Maties
most humble & most
obedient servaunt,
Edw. Nicholas.

Continew your aduertisments for wch I thanke you. C. R.

As I was closing this packet, I receaved one from Edenburgh, wherein was yor Maties ler of the 19th p'esent: I shall lett my Lo. Keeper understand what yor Matie hath comaunded me to deliver to my Lo. Ch. Justice Bankes (who is now in his circuit in Suffolke)

touching ye 4 Irishe regiments,* and desire his Lopp (in ye others absence) to acquaint ye Lodes House therewith. Yor Maties ler of ye 19th p'sent I have sent to ye Queene.

Westminster, 23o Aug. 1641.

Under this date, in the King's writing, "Eden. 28."

Indorsed, "For yor Matie." And signed by the King, "Yours apostyled."

Likewise indorsed by Sir E. N. "My ler to ye King of ye 23 Aug. 1641. Apostiled ye 28th."

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicholas, I thanke you for the account you haue giuen me by yours of the 14, comanding you still to continew the same course, as lykewais that in my name ye tell the same to my Lord Cheefe justice Bankes† also: So I rest

Your frend,

Eden: 19 Aug: 1641. Charles R.

You must tell my L. Cheefe justice Bankes from me that I am so far now engaged to the Spanish Embassador‡ for fower regiment, that I cannot now goe backe, for it was asseured me before I cam from London that bothe Houses were content, onlie it wanted the for-

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* When the Irish regiments were on the point of being disbanded, the Ambassadors of France and Spain made an application to the Parliament on the 14th of August for leave to hire several regiments for foreign service; but their application was refused.

† Sir John Banks, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

‡ Don Alonzo de Cardenas. This is noticed in the preceding letter.

malitie of voting: whereupon I gaue an absolute order for the leauing & transporting of those men, but also reiterated my promises to the Embassador: wherefor he must tell the Houses from me that thease leauies must not be stoped. C. R.

Addressed: "For your selfe."
Indorsed by Sir E. N. "19o Aug: 1641: R. 23o. His Maties ler to me."

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

This morning about 6 o'clock I receaved by ye hands of Mr. Murray yor Maties of the 22th, & have acquainted my Lo. Keeper,* that yor Matie is well satisfyed wth his lettr, whereof his Lopp is very glad, & acknowledgeth yor Maties great goodnes to him in it.

Before my receipt of yor Maties last letter I had acquainted my Lo. Keeper (in ye absence of my Lo. Ch. Justice Bankes) wh what yor Matie commanded me, touching yor Maties engagemt for transportac'on of 4 regiments of Irishe for ye service of the Spanishe King, & wh ye reasons of it, & his Lopp having that morning made ye same knowne to the Lodes, they thereupon had ye next day a conference wh ye Comons House, the

I see your discretion may bee trusted in greater maters.

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* This was Lord Lyttelton, who succeeded Finch, and of whom it was justly said that he was a good Englishman, a good subject, and learned in the laws; but not having the same dexterity that his predecessor had, he was not so fitly qualified for his important trust in such perilous and critical times.

result of wch conference is not as yet reported to ye Lodes House, but I am tould, that the Comons* are very much against these 4 regiments going for Spayne, in regard it crosseth wth yor Maties & ye Houses Declaration against ye Spanyard on behalf of ye Prince Elector;† & therefore my Lo. Keeper thinkes not fitt to hasten ye report of that conference: As soone as there shal be any order or resolucon in it by ye Parliamt, I shall advertise it to yor Matie. I sent yor Maties letter to Sir Ph. Maynewaring‡ by an expresse messenger into Northamptonsh: whither Sr Phillip was gonne 2 dayes before my receipt of yor Maties to him.

Since Satterday last there hath beene noe business done in Parliamt of any publique nature§ that I can

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* On the 28th of August, when the House of Commons again took this affair into consideration, Sir Benjamin Rudyard spoke loudly against it, founding his objections, principally, upon the points here stated by Sir Edward Nicholas. The Commons then refused assent to the measure, in which the Lords agreed with them; and a letter, expressing their refusal, was sent to the King.

† Elector of Bavaria, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and nephew to Charles I. being the son of his sister Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia.

‡ He was of Over Peover, in Cheshire, and father to the first Baronet of that name, so created after the Restoration. He was Sheriff of Cheshire in 1639, and Captain in the Cheshire light horse. Collins does not mention his knighthood.

§ This is curious; for it appears, by the Records of Parliament, that on the 25th of August the Lords sequestrated the temporalities of Dr. Roger Manwaring, Bishop of St. David's, for his contumacy to an order of the House; and

heare of; but only the order made by the Lodes touching ye election of ye present Sheriffs of London, whereof I gave advertisemt to Mr. Thre'r by myne of ye 23th. * This day ye Lo. Mayor was att the Upper House to get an alteration of that their Lops order, but the House would not recede from it in any p'ticular, whereat ye Lo. Mayor & cheif cittizens seeme to be much troubled.

There is here great expectation what recepcon yor Matie will give to ye Comittees sent hence. I wishe yor Matie could have soe tymely expedited yor affaires there, as that you might have bene reddy to come away before their arrivall there. They came heere yesternight.

Yesterday ye Comons ordered † that ye pay of Coll. Willmot, Ashbournham, & ye rest of ye soldiers (that are questioned in P'liam't), shalbe sequestred untill their

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on the day on which Sir Edward wrote his letter both Houses had a conference respecting a proposed recess of Parliament.

* This evidently relates to the dispute then existing between the Lord Mayor and the Commons of London; the former laying claim to the choice of one of the Sheriffs, by a prescription of three hundred years. The Livery refusing to abide by this, the Court of Aldermen petitioned the King to decide upon the affair; but the King referred it to the House of Lords, who, after some delay, ordered that the Commonalty should proceed to the choice of the two Sheriffs, at the same time recommending that they would have those who had already been nominated by the Mayor. The Sheriffs chosen were George Garret and George Clark. Sir William Acton, Bart. was the then Lord Mayor; but he was superseded by the Parliament, and replaced by Sir Edmund Wright.

† Not recorded in the Parliamentary Debates.

busines shalbe heard & adjudged. And upon occasion of ye discourse of that busines, Mr. Selden did then in that house deliver his opinion with much confidence, that by ye Act of Oblivion Mr. Percy and Mr. Jermyn,* & all ye rest that are questioned with them, are freed and pardoned, wch he argued so strongly out of the very words of that Act, as ye sages of that house, who oppugned his opinion, did not (in ye indgemt of able men) give any reasonable or satisfactory answere to it: the House seemed to be much amazed att this slipp in that Act, & were not well pleased with him who delivered this opinion: some said that it was not in ye intencon of ye House to pardon them, whereupon it was replyed that lawes are to be understood according to the words in ye Act, & not according to the intencon of ye makers, further than ye words will beare.

This day the House of Peers have comitted to prison ye man that printed the scandalous ballet concerning the Qu. Mother's going away, & will consider of further punishmt for him, and they have ordered that these ballets shalbe burnt by ye hand of ye hangman.

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* Jermyn had been especially implicated in this affair, by the confession of Colonel Goring, made on his examination concerning what was called a "Conspiracie against the State." Goring asserted that he, himself, had refused concurrence with the proposals to put the army into a posture to serve the King, to send a Declaration to Parliament that Episcopacy should not be infringed upon, and that the King's revenue should be established; for he said that he thought it belonged to an army to maintain, not to contrive acts of state. At the same time he confessed that his own object, in joining in the proposed measures, was to solicit "a redresse for the miseries of the souldiers."

The inclosed from my Lo. Marshall * will give yor Matie an account of ye cause of ye Qu. Mother's stay att Dover.

Thanke him in my Name for his account.

Albeit this employmt wch yor Matie hath bene pleased to honour me w'thall, hath drawne much envy vpon me, & (as I heare) set some on worke to prye into my accons past & present, yet since I enioy ye comfort of yor Maties grac'ous opinion & acceptaunce of my poore & honnest endeavours, I shall not vallue any mans mallice, but rather smile att their ignoraunce, that conceave there is any other felicity in this imploymt, then to deserve to be accounted an honest man, &

Indeed ye haue it in a full measure.

Yor Maties
most humble & most obedient servaunt,
Edw. Nicholas.

The Queene sent me word she had written lately to yor Matie, & would not write by this dispatche.

I receaued this yesterday.

Westminster, 26o Aug.

Written by the King, "Eden. 31, 1641."

Indorsed, "For yor most excellent Matie."

Written by the King, "Yours apostyled."

Further indorsement in the hand-writing of Sir E. N.: "26 Aug. 1641. Myne to his Matie apostiled 31o Aug.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicholas, I haue nothing to answer to yours of the 20: (wch I receaued yesterday in the euening), save onlie to thanke for your advertisments: but heering from good hand, that the House of Comons meanes to refuse my

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* Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey.

General Pardon,* I haue thought fitt to comand you, to comand my L. Keeper to thinke of a Declaration to be put fourth in my name (in case my Pardon be refused) to make my fauorable intentions knowen to all my English subjects, how I consulted it with the best lawers, to make it of most aduantadge that might bee for all my said people. This being the summe, for the forme & the penning, I leave it to bee consulted there: to wch end, I com'and you first to goe to my Wyfe, to receaue her directions in it (for she knowes my mynde fully in this particular) and according to what she shall direct you, to com'and my Lo. Keeper for the drawing of it, fitt for my hand, with all speede, & so I rest

Your frend,

CHARLES R.

Eden. 25 Aug: 1641.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please y^or^ most excell^nt^ Ma^tie^,

I am satisfied with this account.

Yo'r Ma^ties^ of the 25th of this moneth founde me at Oatlands on Sunday last, as I was attending the Queenes com'aunds, where I pesently pesented to her Royall hand yo^r^ Ma^ties^ ler, & acquainted her Ma^tie^ what you had

* This will be found fully explained in a subsequent letter. It seems as if the King wished to secure Percy, Wilmot, Ashburnham, and the others engaged with them, from the malice of the Parliament, but was unwilling to pardon them expressly by name, and therefore issued this General Pardon in order to include them, without appearing to confirm the charges brought against them as acting under his privity and directions.

written to me concerning a Declarac'on; her Matie saith that she now vnderstands that ye Com'ons will not suddainly refuse yor Maties Pardon; but howsoever she com'aunded me to speake wth my Lo. Keeper about it according to yor Maties leter, & to wishe him to consider of a fitting Declarac'on agreeable to yor Maties direcc'ons, that it may be reddy in case the G'ral Pardon shal be refused, & this to be donne wth all possible secrecy. My Lo. Keeper promiseth to pepare such a Declarac'on against too-morrow, & hath wished me then to attend his Lopp to Oatlands, there to shew it to her Matie, & as soon as it shal be perfected to send it for yor royal approbac'on. The busines will well beare this delay, for that ye Peers have this day adiourned their House till Munday next; and ye Com'ons (I heare) intend to adiourne too-morrow, also till Munday; & it is resolv'd that both Houses shall adiourne on Wensday se'night till ye 26th of Octobr. I humbly desire to know yor Maties pleasure whether when this Declarc'on shall be printed, it may not be fit to shew ye same to my Lo. Banks or Mr. Attorney,* or both, before it be engrossed for yor Maties hand. I have bene tould that some take excepc'ons to yor Maties Pardon, for that it excepts all matters of eccl'all cognisaunce, albeit ye same exception is in ye Pardon of 21o Jacobi, but I beleeve that this excepc'on of theirs is but a pretence, & that ye mayne thing that they dislike in it is, that Mr. Percy & ye rest of his company are comprehended in it. Both Houses have had a conference upon yor Maties answear and reasons sent by Mr. Nichols† touching ye com'ission, and

Show it to both.

I am of your mynd; for their petition to mee was to have it as neer to that of 21 Jacobi as might bee.

* Sir Edward Herbert, Knt.

† This was Mr. Anthony Nichols, Member for Bodmyn, whom the Commons, on the 18th August, had ordered to

I heare, thoughe many would have bene better pleased that yor Matie had signed ye com'ission for their co'-mittees, yet they doe not much dislike yor Maties answeare, since by yor grac'ous permission their com'ittees have leave to come to Edenburg to doe the busines they are principally sent for.* I have herewth sent yor Matie ye substance of 2 messages delivered yesterday from ye Com'ons to ye Peers. The ordinance therein menc'oned touching ye disarming of Recusants is this day ordered to be printed (as I heare). There hath bene some of yor Maties deer killed in Windsor forrest neer Egham by ye inhabitants of that towne & of ye parishes adioyning, who hunted in ye day tyme by 80 & 100 in a company: Sr Ar. Maynwaring† hath bene amongst them,

I com'and you to speake with the L. Keeper, my L. Bankes, and my learned Councell, to see what course is best to be taken to stop theas insolencies in tyme to cum.

be their messenger to carry the Petition, Commission, and Instructions to Edinburgh for the King's approbation. It is stated in the Parliamentary Records, that the sum of £1000 was then ordered for the "Commissioner's Charges."

* The King's answer was read to both Houses on the 30th, in which he said that he did not find it necessary to sign any such Commission; but was "graciously pleased to give leave to the said Members to come and attend us here in Scotland, to see the ratification of the said Treaty, and what else belongs thereunto."

The Parliamentary Debates say, that "these reasons seemingly contented both Houses, for we hear no more of the matter from either of the Journals;" but Sir Edward Nicholas explains the business with more probability.

† He had property in Chertsey, in the vicinity; and on the 17th of September was appointed, along with many others, to hold an inquest in the bounds of Windsor Forest, within the bailiwick of Surrey. The people had been enraged by the proceedings of the Justice in Eyre, the Earl of Holland. Manning and Bray's Hist. Surrey, vol. I. Introduction, pp. xii. xiii.

and wth good words & promises hath made them forbeare for ye pesent. When both Houses shal be adiourned till Octobr I beleeve here wil be little or noe busines in this towne, where ye sicknes & small pox increaseth, and therefore if yor Matie please to give me leave, I humbly desire to reside att Oatlands or att my house att Thorpe (wch is but 3 myles from Oatlands), whether I can take order that all packets shall wthout any delay or peiudice be brought to me. I assure yor Matie I would not presume to crave this favour, if I could imagine that any inconvenience or delay might thereby happen to ye services yor Matie hath bene pleased to comitt to ye care of,

I willinglie grant your desyre.

Yr Maties

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

Edw. Nicholas.

Westminster, 31o Aug. 1641. Apostyled 7o 7bris. Eden. 5 Sep.

Indorsed, "For yor sacred Matie."

And by the King, "Yours apostyled."

I receaued yours of the 2: the 6 of this monthe, vpon w'ch, & other reasons, to stay this dispache untill the 8: euen now I receaued your of the 4: w'ch requyres no answer.
Eden. 8 Sept.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor Matie,

Since my letr of ye 26th of this moneth it hath bene here ordered by both Houses of Parliamt, that out of ye monny accruing to yr Matie by vertue of ye last Act of Tonnage & Poundage,* there shal be paid for the use

* This was taken into consideration by the House of Commons on the 26th of August, in consequence of long arrears due to naval officers, as well as from the provisions in the magazines being decayed. Part of the money was

of the Navy 10 m. lb. for this moneth of Aug: & 15 m. for each of ye other 3 monethes to ye first of Decembr next, amounting in all to 55 m. lb. and upon a message sent by ye Parliamt to ye Com'issionrs of ye Treasury, they have given warraunt accordingly.

There hath bene a conference between ye 2 Houses about some course to be taken for preserving of the myne of saltpeetre, but there is noe order as yet settled for it.

You must comand my learned Councell, in my name, that they doe what they may that the same vote passe not the Higher House.

The sentence whereby London Derry was adiudged forfeited to yr Matie, is by ye House of Com'ons (as I heare) declared Nul, & that land thought fit to be restored backe to ye Citty of London.*

The Parliamt here (upon a conference of both Houses) hath resolved to make a recesse on wensday ye 8th of Sepber to ye 26th of Octobr next, unlesse before that day there shal hapen some emergent busines, wch it is thought wil be as ye intelligence from Scotland shall please us here.

The Qu. Mother † remaines still att Dover, expecting

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also to be expended in fitting out ten men of war and ten merchant ships for the defence of the narrow seas; the charge of which would amount to £57,000, but only £1200 as yet appropriated out of the tonnage and poundage. The farmers of the Customs were ordered to make good the deficiency, to the amount of £15,000 per month.

* This refers to the proceedings of the Star Chamber against the City for non-performance of conditions in the charter granted to them by James the First. Vide Rushworth, vol. IV. p. 376.

† i. e. the Queen Dowager of France. See what Mr. Evelyn says of her in his Journal.

The departure of the Queen Mother from England, where she had arrived in 1638, was palatable to the Parliament

(as my Lo. Marshall writes to me this morning) ye returne of a messenger from Flanders, soe as tuesday next wil be ye soonest that her Matie wil embarque.

All things are like to be now very still here, every mans expectac'on being fixed upon yor Maties & the Parliaments proceedings there, wch I beseech God to direct & governe, as may be most for ye honor & pros-

You may asseure euery one, that now all difficulties ar pased heere, as I have co'manded Vane to tell you more at large.†

---

party, whose scribes at that period vomited forth the harshest vituperatives against her. In a curious astrological reprint of Grebner's book, accompanied by observations on the life and death of Charles, it is said that on her coming, "all men were against her, for it was observed that wherever or unto whatever Country this miserable old Queen came, there followed immediately after her either the plague, war, famine, or one misfortune or another."—Yet the same writer, when speaking of her departure, says, "a sad spectacle it was, and produced tears from mine eyes and many other beholders, to see an aged leane decrepit poore Queen, ready for her grave, necessitated to depart hence, having no place of residence in this world left her, but where the curtesie of her hard fortune assigned it. She had beene the onely statelie and magnificent woman in Europe."—She had, whilst in England, an allowance of £100 per day; and the Parliament gave her £10,000 for travelling expences when going away.

* The King's confidence and indulgence towards Vane, upon all occasions, though so badly requited, was extremely remarkable. Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs, states a curious instance of it; where, speaking of the economy of Charles's Court, he says that "besides the women who attended on his beloved Queen and Consort, he scarce admitted any great officer to have his wife in the family. Sir Henry Vane was the first, that I knew in that kind, who

perity of yo^r Ma^tie & of your royall posterity & all yo^r kingdomes, and this shall ever be y^e dayly prayers of,

Yo^r Ma^ties

Most humble & obedient servaunt,

Edw. Nicholas.

As I was making up this packet I receaved an order of the Upper House of Parliam^t to Sir Jo. Penington * for y^e stay of ships bound for Ireland, a coppy whereof I send inclosed, but whether there be any such ships in y^e Downes, I cannot learne y^e certeynty. The Queenes Ma^tie tells me she will not wryte till Munday by Mr. Murray.

Westminster, 28^o Aug. 1641.

Eden. 3 Sep.

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having a good diet as Comptroller of the Household, and a tenuity of fortune, was winked at; so as the Court was filled, not crammed."

* Sir John Pennington was a distinguished naval officer of that period, and was appointed by the King, a few months afterwards, to the command of the fleet; against this, the Parliament remonstrated in favour of the Earl of Warwick, and Sir John was obliged to resign. There was another Pennington, at that period, extremely active; but his name was Isaac, and he is very harshly spoken of by the loyal writers of that time, as a man who had enriched himself most flagitiously in the service, or rather through the influence and power of the Parliament. He was a merchant in the City.

The KING to Sir JOHN FINCH, Lord Keeper.

My Lo. Keeper,

Ye answer that I can giue to yours of 31. of Aug. is only, that I am very well satisfyed wth it: wherefore ye cheefe subiect of this is, that hauing understood, that ye Lower House, in passing ye Bill of Tunnage & Poundage, forgot to reserue that aduantage to ye merchant in diuers comodities wch I haue usually granted, therefore I co'maund you tell ye Citty in my name, that thoughe their owne burgesses forgot them in P'liam't, yet I meane to supply that defect out of my affecc'on to them, soe that they may see that they need noe mediators to me, but my owne good thoughts; for as yet I assure you that I have not bene sued to in this particular by any on their behalfe. Soe I rest

Your assured frend,

Eden. 7 Sep. 1641. C. R.

I have com'anded Nicholas to speake to you concern- the insolencies com'itted in ye forest.

The above is in Sir E. N.'s hand-writing, and is thus indorsed:

"7o 7bris 1641. Coppy of his Maties letr to my Lo. Keeper, to be communicated to the Citty."

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

In the King's hand:

Monday 20 Sep.

This dispache I receaued this morning, but tell my Wyfe that I haue found falte with you, because none of hers was within it.

May it please yor Matie,

I have by my Lo. Carr receaved yor Maties com'aunds of ye 8th of this moneth, apostiled upon my letr of ye

31th of Aug. last, & have presented yr Maties to my Lo. Keeper, whoe hath alreddy com'unicated to my Lo. Mayor the effect of yor Maties grac'ous intenc'on towards ye merchants that were not provided for by ye Act of Tonnage & Poundage, wch was most dutifully & gratefully receaved by ye Lo. Mayor, who will make known yor Maties great goodnes to all ye merchants of this Citty. My Lo. Keeper hath appointed my Lo. Bankes, Mr. Attorney, Sr Art. Maynewaring & myself, to attend his Lopp att his house in ye country on Munday next, to consider of ye ryot com'itted in yor Maties forrest of Windsor, & of some fitting course to prevent ye killing of any more deere there.

Tell him, that I am satisfyed with his letter, as indeed I am with you for the continuall accounts ye giue mee of my businesses.

I have herewth sent yor Matie a list of ye names of ye Com'ittees of ye Com'ons House, & ye instrucc'ons given to them, wch I have gotten wth some difficulty.

The Com'ittees of ye Lods met yesterday in ye afternoone in ye Painted Chamber, & those of ye Com'ons in ye Excheqr Chamber apart by themselves, & afterwards iointly. All their busines was to peruse & annsweare lers, w h they receaved from my Lo. G'rall,* & their Comittees in Scotland, & to take order for monnyes for paymt of the army, trayne of artillery, and garrisons.† They have given order to my Lo. Admll to send shipps to ye Holy Island‡ to fetch thence ordinance and amunic'on, &c. as yor Matie by ye order inclosed may

* Earl of Essex.

† The Lord General stated in his letters that it was the intention of the Scottish Parliament to keep 5000 in array, until the whole of the English army was disbanded, and the "fortifications at Berwick and Carlisle slighted."

‡ On the coast of Northumberland.

perceave. I heare that these Com'ittees have written to ye Com'ittees in Scotland, that if by their next letrs they shall certefy them that there is noe more busines for them in Scotland, then they will consider of calling them home.

By a coppy herewth sent, yor Matie will perceave ye course that is here taken for paymt & discharge of ye garrison of Carlile, & accordingly the Paymaster hath alreddy receaved £4000, & is too-morrow to have ye rest of the monny, for ye pesent carriage, whereof he hath taken order, soe as it shal be there by ye 3d or 4th of 8ber, wch is ye soonest it can possibly be carried thither by cart.

The Declarac'on of ye Com'ons House* was Sunday last read in ye parishe church here in Westminster, & is sent to ye sheriffs of all counties to be published. There is noe man prayeth more fervently for yor Maties prosperous dispatch of yor affaires there, & safe & speedy returne, than

Yor Maties

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

Edw. Nicholas.

I heare ye Com'ittees here have taken order for monnyes for paymt & discharge of yor Maties garrison at Berwick, & that it is to be sent downe att 3 severall sendings, wch will require some longer tyme.

Westminster, 15o Sepbris, 1641.

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* This was against all superstitious rites and observances in public worship; amongst which they enumerated crucifixes, images of the Virgin Mary, bowing at the name of Jesus, &c. They also ordered the Communion Tables to be moved from the east end of all churches and chapels; and all sports and pastimes to be prevented on Sunday.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excell^nt Ma^tie,

According to my advertisem^t yesterday, both Houses of Parliam^t have this day adiourned till 20^o Octo^br next. They have appoynted Comittees to meete during the recesse,* & their first day of meeting is to be Tuesday next, & then they are to adiourne from tyme to tyme as they shall thinke good. Their principall busines is to receave & annsweare all le^rs from Scotland, according to instrucc'ons alreddy given to the Comittees there, whom they have power to call home if they see cause. They have also power to send downe monny to y^e army, & to doe what they shall think requisite for y^e disbanding of it, & to dispose of y^e cannons and artillery in y^e North, & they are to make report of the whole busines att y^e next meeting of both Houses.

There was not att parting a very p'fect agreem^t (as I heare) betwene the 2 Houses in all things, for the Peers declyning to ioyne w^th the Com'ons in orders touching innovac'ons in y^e Church, the Com'ons notwithstanding ordered y^e same to be printed, the particulars of w^ch orders are here inclosed.† I heare that the Lo^ds &

* Lists of those Committees may be found in the 9th volume of the Parliamentary History, p. 536.

† The Lords did not quarrel with the spirit of the resolutions of the House of Commons; but they made some slight alterations in the details. The Commons, however, went further on the day before adjournment than they had ventured to do previously; for it was ordered that a lecture might be set up, and an orthodox minister might be main-

Com'ons have intimated that none of the disbanded soldiers, either horse & foote, Englishe or Irishe, shalbe p'mitted to serve either the ffrench or Spanishe King, but that they may serve the States.* Upon a report that the Spanish and ffrench† Amb'dors had treated wth diverse of the horse & foote to serve their masters, the Co'mons House sent 2 of their members to each of their Amb'dors, to know by what warrt they did goe about to levy any soldiers here, & by whose procurement they obteyned such warrts, but (it seemes) they could discover nothing att all.

As soone this day as the Lds House was adiourned, I receaved from Withering's deputy 2 packetts of lers, ye one directed to yor Matie and ye whole P'liamt, the other to ye Lds in P'liamt; both wch I have sent now to Mr. Th'rer‡ for yor Matie. I humbly beseech yor Matie that this ler may be seene by noe other eye than yor owne, for I assure you the houses are very inquisitive after these that advertise yor Matie of any parliament busines. I hope yor Matie will now hasten for England, to put yor affaires here in good order, the armies

I receaued yours of the 8: yesterday, this, this day: but tell my Wife, that in nether of them, there was anie from her.

If you would haue beene sure of secrecie, you should haue inclosed them under my couer.

Be confident I will as soone as I may.

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tained at the expence of any parishioners to preach on various occasions through the week, and also on the Sabbath where there was no sermon.

* This leave to serve the States does not appear on the Parliamentary Records.

† Popular prejudice had arisen to a great height against those diplomatic personages; for the House of Lords found it necessary on the 30th of August to issue an order for the punishment of some rioters who had insulted the French Ambassador and his servants.

‡ Sir Henry Vane.

being all disbanded but 4 regimts. I humbly beg yor Maties pardon for this tedies discourse from,

Yor Maties

Most humble and obedient servaunt,

Edw. Nicholas.

It was almost nine o'clock at night before ye Com'ons did adiourne; but ye Lods adiourned at 3 in ye afternoone.

Westminster, 9o Sepbris, 1641.

Eden. 13.

"For yor sacred Matie."

"Yours apostyled."

In Sir E. N.'s handwriting: 9o Sepbris 1641. apostil. 13o.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor Ma'tie,

The ler inclosed from my Lo. Marshall will give yor Matie an accompt of ye Q. Mothers landing & recepc'on in ye Low Countries, by ye care of ye Prince of Orange. The Houses of Parliamt here begin to be att some difference one wth another; the Peers take it not well that ye Com'ons comanded to be printed an order for abolishing of innovac'ons, &c.* wthout their ap-

I am not much sorie for it.

* This is the order formerly alluded to. Previous to adjournment, on the 9th, the Lords desired a conference on the subject of orders respecting Divine Service: but the Commons, without noticing that desire, instantly passed a resolution "that this House doth not consent to these orders, or to any of them." The Lords who signed the protest were, Bedford, Warwick, Clare, Newport, Wharton, and Kimbolton.

probac'on, & thereupon their Lopps caused to be printed a former order made for observing ye Booke of Com'on Prayer, whereupon (I heare) ye Com'ons made (on thursday night a little before their adiournemt) a Declarac'on against ye Lords said former order, & some of ye Ldds have also made a protestac'on against ye same & entred it in their house, as yor Matie may perceave by ye protestacc'on herewth sent, & by the Declarac'on of ye Com'ons House, wch (I am tould) is sent to Mr. Th'rer by his sonne, but I cannot here procure a coppy it.† I have herewth sent yor Matie a coppy of an ordinance of both Houses concerning ye raysing & transporting of forces out of England & Irland. By a ler wch is sent in this packet from Sr John Colepeper † to Marq. Hamilton, & by another sent by young Sr H. Vane to his father,‡ yor Matie (if you call for ye same) may see all the passages of ye Com'ons House since Munday morning, wch have beene soe various & dissonant, as may be worthy yor Maties observac'on & informac'on.

There hath beene nothing spoken hitherto in Parliament concerning yor Maties Generall Pardon. If yor Matie overcome all difficulties there, & make firme to you yor good people of that kingdome, I beleeve it will not be difficult for you to put all things here in good order att ye next recesse, by carrying a steddy and moderate hand upon yor affaires.

I am glad of that.

You may now say confidentlie in my name that they ar.

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* Copies of these Declarations may be found in Rushworth's Collections; also in Nalson's.

† He was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

‡ Sir Henry Vane, sen. held his situation only until the 26th of November, when he was succeeded by Lord Falkland, immediately after the King's return.

Yor Matie will I hope pardon the tedious and empty letrs wch you receave from,

Yor Maties

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

Edw. Nicholas.

Westminster, 10 Sepbris 1641.

Eden: 16:

"For yor sacred Ma'tie."

"Yours apostyled." 10 7bris 1641. Apost. 16o.

On the opposite page, in the King's handwriting:

I co'mand you to draw up anie such warrant, as my Wyfe shall direct you, for the disposing of the great Collar of Rubies * that is in Holland, & tell her how I have directed you to wait her co'mands in this; & that I am confident of your secrecie in this, & anie thing else, that I shall trust you with. C. R.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor Matie,

I cannot add any thing of advertisemt worthy yor Maties notice since my last of ye 10th of this present, only I can tell yor Matie that ye Declarac'on of ye Com-'ons (whereof I could not then procure a coppy) is now printed, as ye Duke of Richmond † can shew yor Matie,

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* This, though a delicate affair, was not so dangerous as two years afterwards, when the Parliament, understanding that the Queen had pawned the crown jewels in Holland, ordered that whoever had, or should pay, lend, send, or bring, any money or specie into the kingdom, for or upon those jewels, or accept of any bill hereafter, should be considered an enemy to the state.

† De Larrey, in his characters, describes the Duke as at the head of the royalist Lords, not only from his near relationship to the King, but also on account of his personal qualities. At the early age of twenty-one he had been made a Privy Councillor, and married to the Duke of Buckingham's daughter.—"His wit, his courage, and his affection for the King, made him worthy the esteem and favour of the Court. But two qualities which he had, prevented his being service-

to whome I have sent one from ye Ea. of Portland.* Mr. Th'rer's ler of ye 7th present, puts ye Queene in expectac'on every howre of lrs from yor Matie by ye Lo. Carr.

Besides ye Queenes lers, yor Matie will herein receave one from my Lo. Keeper, who humbly prayes yor Maties pleasure for a new Sheriff for Nottinghamsheire, as Mr. Th'rer will acquaint yor Matie. I find alreddy that I shall not (now ye Parliamt is adiourned) have much occasion to trouble yor Matie wth lrs, but I shalbe never the lesse vigilant & industrious in my care to approove myself

I have dispached this as is desyred, & tell the Keeper that I expect a speedie account of this letter I send him.

Yor Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Edw. Nicholas.

Westminster, 13o Sepbris 1641.

Eden. 17.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

I receaved yesterday yor Maties of the 13th of this moneth by Mr. ffrisoll, & in it a letr to the Queene, wch I instantly presented to her Royall hands, & acquainted her wth what yor Matie comaunded me. Her Matie tells me she wrote lately by my Lo. Carr,† & in-

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able to the King, who loved him: the one was, his too great diffidence of himself; and the other (quite opposite) too great a haughtiness in point of honour. By the first he rendered himself too dependent; and by the latter, too obnoxious."

* Jerome Weston, second Earl of that title; a family now extinct.

† Lord Ker of Cesford; son to the Earl of Roxburgh,

tends to write againe to yo^r Ma^tie on Munday next by Mr. Wm. Murrey, & therefore forbeares to send by this packet, w^ch I now dispatch for conveyaunce of the inclosed from my Lo^d Keep^r. I had sent the 2 let^rs (w^ch were directed to yo^r Ma^tie & y^e Parliam^t) under yo^r Ma^ties owne cover, but that I founde it was divulged by Withering's deputy, that there were such le^trs came to his hands, and by him sent to me, soe that it had beene a vayne thing for me to have concealed y^e same from Mr. Th'rer, who I was sure had advertisem^t of them by another hand. All things here are in a great still, every one being busy in listening after the proceedings of the Parliam't in Scotland, where Mr. Th'rer writes the people are stiffe, & seeme to be resolute not to recede from their proposic'ons, w^ch in my poore iudgem^t is bad newes, and of very ill example to us here.

And this lykewais is meerlie for the conueyance of thease two inclosed.

Ye had reason.

Eden: 23 Sept. 1641.

I humbly thanke yo^r Ma^tie for yo^r gracious leave granted me to reside at my house att Thorpe, for y^e sickness & small pox contynues very rife in London and Westminster. I am now once a day, or att least once in 2 dayes, att Oatlands, and intended to be att Westminster every tuesday & wensday, to attend what shalbe donne there by the Comittees, having nothing in my affecc'on or ambition soe much, as by an exact dilligence & fidelity to approve myself

Y^r Ma^ties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Thorpe, 18^o Sep^bris, 1641.

Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, the first peer of the family, and ancestor of the Dukes of Roxburgh.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excel^t Ma^tie,

Yesterday I sent by packet a le^r to yo^r Ma^tie from the Lo. Keeper, & should not now have troubled yo^r Ma^tie, but that the oportunity of safe conveyaunce by this gent. doth prompt me humbly to minde yo^r Ma^tie of some things in my poore opinion worthy yo^r Royall considerac'on.

I am confident yo^r Ma^tie doth by this time cleerly perceave, how it is here insinuated upon all occasions, that Popery (w^ch is generally exceeding distastefull to yo^r subts of this kingdome) is too much favoured by yo^r clergy here, & in yo^r owne Court, & that this opinion (how vniustly soever laid by Brownists* on yo^r Ma^ties governm't) hath & doth (more than any thing) preiudice yo^r Ma^tie in y^e esteeme & affecc'on of yo^r people, whose love I humbly conceave to be soe much yo^r Ma^ties interest, as that it ought to be preserved & reteyned by yo^r Ma^tie by all possible meanes: wherefore I humbly offer to yo^r Ma^ties considerac'on, whether it be not requisite, that yo^r Ma^tie should now (during this recesse) give some publique assuraunce to the contrary: w^ch I

I thanke you fore putting me in mynd of the vacancie of Bishobnikes, therefore I co'-mand you to direct the B. of London to send me a list of all the vacant Bishobri^ses, & those notes w^ch he & I made concerning the filling of those places.

* It is unnecessary, with respect to these schismatics, to notice their peculiar tenets, any further than to remind the reader that they were as inimical to the Church of England as they professed to be to Popery. Their schism, also, began as early as the time of Elizabeth; and perhaps the love of persecution might have been as clearly manifested in power, as it was evident in adversity; for their founder boasted on his death-bed that he had been in thirty-two prisons during his religious warfare with the established authorities.

humbly conceave may be donne by yo^r p^esent conferring of such Bp^ricks and eccles^call dignities as are now voyde vpon persons, of whome there is not the least suspic'on of favouring the Popish partie, such as may be* Dr. Prideaux, Bromwich, Gouge, Mr. Shute, & y^e like, if they will in these tymes accept of such p^eferm^ts, for I assure yo^r Ma^tie I am vnknowne to all and every one of them. Such men thus p^eferred, would not only give assurance of yo^r Ma^ties firme resoluc'on to maynteyne the Protestant religion here professed, but by filling vpp of y^e vacant Bp^ricks w^th such persons, yo^r Ma^tie would gayne not only their votes for Episcopacy, &c. but many more, who seeing such divines p^efered, would rest confident that there is noe intenc'on to introduce or connive at Popery.

Brownrigg.

Also concerning the booke of Co'mon Prayer, (to partes whereof y^e late Declarac'on of y^e Co'mons House shewes there is some excepc'on), yo^r Ma^tie having constituted such Bp^ps, may be pleased to declare yo^r reddines to reforme what shalbe thought amisse in it by yo^r clergy & Parliam^t, w^ch will prevent those that (in a zeale w^thout knowledge) seeke to overthrow y^e good government & order wisely established in this Church: & thus by yo^r Ma^ties tymely moderac'on, you will put a bitt in their mouthes, who (vpon a popular pretence of y^e reliques of Popery) cry downe all that is of good order or decency in the Church.

* Prideaux was Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; he was made Bishop of Worcester in 1641, and died in 1650. Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, and Prebendary of Durham, was made Bishop of Exeter in 1641. Gouge and Shute were two principal leaders of the dissenting persuasion, and always abided by their old congregations.

And for a further assuraunce of yo^r Ma^ties integrity in this reformac'on, I humbly offer it to yo^r Ma^ties considerac'on whether it may not be necessary (before y^e next meeting in P'liam^t) to send away all the Capucins* & dissolve their cloyster, for if yo^r Ma^tie doe it not yo^rself, I am misinformed if y^e P'liam't fall not vpon them when they come againe together; & it would be much more for yo^r Ma^ties hon^r, & more acceptable to yo^r people, & (it may be) safer for y^e Capucins, if in that particular yo^r Ma^tie prevented the P'liam't.

Hitherto, I lyke your opinion well, but concerning the rest, I know not what to say, if it be not to aduertice my Wyfe of the Parlaments intention concerning hir Capuchins, & so first to heare what she will say.

And now I humbly beg yo^r Ma^ties pardon for my presumc'on in tendering to yo^r great wisdome these my vndigested thoughts, w^ch I assure yo^r Ma^tie have beene communicated to noe other person in the world, but are (w^thout any p'tic'lar designe) meerely the yssues of my weake iudgem^t & indulgent care of yo^r Ma^ties honor, p^eservac'on & service, w^ch I preferre before any thing in this world that can concerne

On the contrair I thanke you for this honnest freedome.

Yo^r sacred Ma^ties
Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

Thorpe, 19 Sep^bris, 1641.

Eden. 26.

" For yo^r sacred Ma^tie."

" Yours apostyled."

Superscribed by Sir E. N. " 19^o Sep^bris 1641. Apostl. 26^o. his Ma^tie thankes me for his le^r and my freedome in it. It was sent by Mr. Wm. Murrey."

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* This order had been introduced on the marriage of Charles with Henrietta Maria, and had been allowed to make an establishment here.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent M'tie,

I wonder of this, for he or Crispe,† asseured me before my parting from London that it would be absolutlie free, before Bartholemytyde, therefore know the cause of this mistaking housoeuer I lyke the cource now taken by my Wyfe in this.

Yesterday S^r Job Harby,* & I attended the Queene about yo^r Ma^ties collar of rubies, vpon w^ch he saith there is alreddy 25^mo. Her Ma^tie hath let him vnderstand yo^r Ma^ties pleasure concerning y^e disposing of it, whereupon he hath promised that he and S^r Jo. Nulls (who hath bene formerly imployed in the pawning of it) will forthw^th write to y^e partie in Holland w^th whome it lyes engaged, to see what more monny may be had vpon it, and if that man will not lend any further considerable som'e, then S^r Job promiseth to doe his best to procure elsewhere as much more vpon it as he can, & therew^th redeeme it out of the hands where it now lyes, & get y^e overplus for yo^r Ma^tie, & he assures the Queene, that he will doe this w^th secrecy, and all possible dilligence.

It is so, & lykes me well.

This inclosed from my Lo. Keeper was brought to me the last night to be conveyed to yo^r Ma^tie, & will I hope give yo^r Ma^tie an account of yo^r last let^r to his Lopp.

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* He was of an ancient Northamptonshire family, the Harbys of Adston. His sister Emma was married to Robert Charlton, of Whitton, Esq. who suffered much for his loyalty in the cause of Charles the Second. Their son Sir Job was a Judge in the Common Pleas, and created a Baronet.

† This seems to be the same person afterwards engaged, in 1643, in the plan to seize the city of London for the King; in which Edmund Waller was a party, according to Rushworth's account; though Clarendon considers their plans as completely distinct.

Yo^r Matie may be pleased to procure from ye P'liament there some further reiterac'on of their declarac'on, that what yo^r Ma^tie hath consented vnto concerning ye election of Officers there may not be drawne into example to yo^r Ma^ties preiudice here, for if I am not misinformed there wilbe some attempt to procure the like Act heere concerning Officers before ye Act of Tonnage & Poundage wilbe passed to yo^r Ma^tie for lief.

I lyke your proposition, and shall gett as much as I may, howeuer I thanke you for your aduertisment.

I heare that ye Comittee of the Com'ons hath appointed to take into considerac'on yo^r Ma^ties Revenue ye next weeke, and that they will then set at least twice a weeke.* I am vnwilling to give yo^r Ma^tie in yo^r great affaires there too long an interruption with the tedious lynes of,

I pray God, it be to good purpose, & that there be no knavery in it.

I command you to send, in my name to all those Lords that my Wyfe shall tell you of, that they faile not to attend at the downe sitting of the Parliament.

Yo^r sacred Ma^ties
Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

Thorpe, 24^o Sep^bris 1641.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Matie,

Being yesterday at Oatlands to attend the Queenes com'aunds, her Ma^tie gaue me this paper inclos'd, wth comaund to send it this day to yo^r Ma^tie: it was brought to ye Queene by ye Lady Carlile,† who saith she had

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* The power given to these Committees, during the recess, was of a most unprecedented nature, almost equal to that of the three estates of the legislature. In vol. IX. of the Parliamentary History, page 537, a copy of them is inserted.

† This was the Dowager Carlisle, Lady Lucy Percy, se-

it from ye Lo. Mandeville.* I confesse it were not amise to have it published, but I had rather it should be donne by any other hand then yor Maties or ye Queenes, & therefore I could wishe yor Matie would conceale it for a day or 2, by wch tyme I know there wilbe other coppies of it sent into Scotland.

I shall.

The late crosse orders, & vnusuall passages in P'liam't a little before ye Recesse, are so distastfull to ye wiser sorte, as it hath taken off ye edge of their confidence in parliamentary proceedings, & I verily beleeve,

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cond wife, and, at this date, relict of James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle; a lady of great note in her time, celebrated by Waller, and an intimate acquaintance of Pym, and several of his party. Clarendon accuses her of perplexing the King's affairs. She was old enough to give up love for politics, being then upwards of forty.

* Son to the first Earl of Manchester of the Montague family, and formerly a personal friend of the King, having accompanied him on his romantic journey to Spain. The nature of the paper here alluded to, may be surmised from the fact that Lord Mandeville was an active member of the party which, at that period, was anxious to prevent a civil war by the removal of arbitrary ministers from the Royal Councils. In the preceding year he had been one of the Commissioners to arrange all causes of dispute with Scotland. He was best known, however, as the Lord Kimbolton, having at this period been called to the Upper House for his father's barony, though retaining the title of Viscount Mandeville by courtesy. Vide Collins's Peerage, vol. II. p. 93, for further particulars. His brother, Walter Montague, was a bigoted Catholic priest, Abbot of Pontoise in France, and Confessor to the Queen after the death of Father Phillips: he is further noticed in subsequent letters.

that if ye Houses (when they next meete) shall approove of what was then done, it will loose them ye reverence that hath bene heretofore paid to Parliamts.

I heare there are divers meetings att Chelsey att ye Lo. Mandevilles house & elsewhere by Pym * and others, to consult what is best to be donne at their next meeting in P'liamt: & I beleeve they will in ye first place fall on some plausible thing, that may redintegrate them in ye people's good opinion, wch is their anchor-hold & only interest; & (if I am not much misinformed) that wilbe either vpon Papists, or vpon some Act for expunging of Officers and Counsellors here according to ye Scottish pcedent, or on both together, & therefore it will import yor Matie, by some serious and faithfull advise, to doe some thing to anticipate or prevent them before their next meeting.

It were not amiss that some of my seruaunts met lykewais to countermynd ther Plots, to w'ch end speake w'th my Wyfe & receaue her directions.

Yesterday at Oatlands I understood that Sr Jo. Berkeley & Capt. O'Neale† were come over, & that they

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* This was a very short time previous to the tumults of the London apprentices, of which Pym, with several others, were strongly suspected of being instigators. Subsequently the City found it necessary to check those riots, and Venn, one of their members, having exerted himself to keep the peace, a party pamphlet observed that the rioters would have proceeded to the Mansion House, "but by the providence of God, and the great wisdom of Captain Ven, they were prevented."

† O'Neale was deeply implicated in what was called the plot for bringing up the English army against the Parliament, in which Percy, Goring, Ashburnham, and several others were said to have been engaged. May, in his History of the

had bene the day before privately at Waybridge: I was bould then to deliver my opinion to y^e^ Queene, that I did beleeve if they continued in England they would be arrested (thoughe y^e^ P'liam't sit not) by vertue of y^e^ warrant, that was given att first to y^e^ Sarjant at Armes (attending y^e^ Com'ons House) to attache them. Her Ma^tie^ seemed (when I tould it to her) to app^e^hend noe lesse, & will I believe take order that notice may be given to them of y^e^ danger of it, but her Ma^tie^ for y^e^ p^e^sent said she knew not where they were.

I wonder at this, for all this last Month euery thurd day at furthest I have written to her.

The Queene being now every day in expectac'on of le^rs^ from yo^r^ Ma^tie^ (having receaved non since tuesday last) doth forbeare to write by this dispatch.

Wee know not y^e^ importance of y^e^ affaires there that deteyne yo^r^ Ma^tie^ soe long, but it is by those that wishe best to yo^r^ service here, thought very necessary that yo^r^ Ma^tie^ should hasten to be here as soone as may be possible before y^e^ 20th of 8^ber^; and if yo^r^ Ma^tie^ leave behinde you some Councellors that you carryed hence, it is thought yo^r^ Councells here will not prosper the worse, nor be the lesse secreat, only it may be yo^r^ Ma^tie^ may thereby deprive some menc'oned in y^e^ paper inclosed of their wonted intelligence. I beseech yo^r^ Ma^tie^ to vouchsafe to advertise me whether this come safe to yo^r^

Parliament, p. 65, (Mason's Edition,) calls O'Neale an Irishman and a Papist; and states that he was committed to the Tower, but escaped before trial.

Berkeley was an officer of high rank, always active in the King's service, and is repeatedly mentioned by Clarendon, particularly as Governor of Exeter, which he was obliged to surrender to the Parliamentary forces.

Royall hands, & to burne it, that it may never rise in iudgement against,

Yor sacred Maties
Most humble & obedient servaunt,
Edw. Nicholas.

Thorpe, 27 Sepbris 1641.
Eden. 2 Oct.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

I had noe sooner sent away my packet on Munday last but I receaved yor Maties apostile of ye 20th psent, & wth it a ler to ye Queene, wch I forthwth psented to her royall hand, & yesterday I receaved yor Maties apostile of ye 23th of this moneth, & instantly sent away yor Maties letr to the Queene, & that to my Lo. Keeper. I tould ye Queene that yor Matie had blamed me, that in severall of my dispaches there was no ler from her Matie, for wch she hath now made a recompence by sending me two lrs, wch yor Matie shall herein receave.

Tell her that this doble amends is abondant satisfaction.

The Com'ittees of ye Peers met not yesterday, but will tuesday next.* The Com'ons Comittees met, & had before them Sr Jo. Berkley & Capt. O'Neale, who

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* The Report of these Committees was made to the Parliament, on their meeting, by Mr. Pym. A copy of it is inserted in vol. X. of the Parliamentary History, p. 1.

Pym, in this report, says that Berkeley and O'Neale came voluntarily to his lodgings, for the purpose of submitting to the orders of the House; after which the deputy serjeant attached them on the first order.

coming over lately, were (as I heare) yesterday apprehended by ye servaunt of ye Serjant att Armes (attending ye House of Com'ons) vpon ye first warraunt that was issued for taking of them, & ye Com'ittees would not bayle them, though they tendred it, alleaging they had not power to doe it.

I hope some day they may repent there scueritie.

Yesterday ye Remembrancer of the Citty of London came to me from the Lo. Mayor & Court of Aldermen, & desired me to present to yor Matie the humble & dutifull thankes of the Citty for yor Maties great grace & goodnes in ye busines of Tonnage & Poundage. I assure yor Matie that yor grac'ous ler concerning that matter hath wrought much vpon ye affecc'ons, not only of ye merchaunts, but of diverse others of this Citty.

The Remembrancer tould me further, that ye Lod Mayor & Aldermen desired him to enquire of ye day when yor Matie wilbe here, to ye end that, according to their dutifull affecc'ons, they might meete yor Matie, to attend yor royall person into this Citty, thoughe he said ye Citty (being become poore) were not able to give yor Matie any pesent according to their custom. I have promised to let them know when yor Matie wilbe here as soone as I shall know ye certeynty of it. Of all wch I thought it my duty to advertise yor Matie, that I may therein doe nothing but what may be agreeable to yor Maties good pleasure; notwthstanding I humbly conceave it imports yor Matie to cherish ye affecc'ons & goodwill of this Citty.

When ye shall see littell Will: Murray then ye shall know certainlie not onlie of my returne, but also how all will end heer.

By letrs to partic'lar p'sons (wch I have seene) dated 25o 7bris, it is advertised from Edenb. that yor Matie hath nominated ye Lo. Lodian to be Chancellor. Whatsoever ye newes be that is come hither amongst ye partie of ye Protesters, they are observed to be here of late very

It is Loudun not.

iocund & cheerefull, & it is conceaved to arise from some advertisements out of Scotland, from whose acc'ons & successes they intend (as I heare) to take a patterne for their proceeding here att their next meeting. I hartely pray for yo^r Ma^ties speedy & happy returne, as being (of all men) most obliged to be

I beliue before all be done that they will not haue such great cause of joy.

Yo^r sacred Ma^ties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 29^o Sep^bris 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden. 5 Oct.

This day I receaved yours of the 1: Oct.

" For yo^r sacred Matie."

" Yours apostyled."

29^o 7^bris 1641. Apost. 5 8^bris.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excell^nt Ma^tie,

These inclosed from y^e Queene & my Lo. Keeper were brought to me y^e last night late to be sent to yo^r Ma^tie. I have not as yet receaved from the B^pp of London* a list of the vacant B^pricks: I beleeve his Lo^p hath not finished the notes yo^r Ma^tie & his Lo^pp made concerning that busines, w^ch he tould me were very imperfect.

I beseech yo^r Ma^tie to give me leave to put you in minde that there is noe one thing that you can now doe, that will better rectify y^e ielousies of yo^r good people, more satisfie their mindes, & settle their affecc'ons to yo^r Ma^tie, then y^e good choyce you make of such as yo^r Ma^tie shall now appoint to be B^pps; & as it wilbe much

I dout not but in this to giue good satisfaction.

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* Dr. Juxon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

for yo^{r} service that y^{e} new Bpps be plausible persons, & beyond excepc'on, soe there would be a great care had that noe Bpp be removed, of whome there is any suspic'on of being any wayes popishly affected, or otherwise much disliked.

Ye may see by this that all ther desynes hit not, & I hope before all be done that they shall miss of more.

The partie here, who we say hath y^{e} best intelligence from Scotland (w^{ch} is Mr. Pym & young S^{r} Hen. Vane), report that y^{e} Ea. of Arguile* is Chauncellor of that Kingdome; it seemes it was soe designed.

I hear Mr. Th'rer is still at Raby,† & that he will not returne to Scotl. before yo^{r} Ma^{ties} coming thence, w^{ch} makes me humbly to craue yo^{r} Ma^{ties} com'aund whether I shall contynue the addresse of all packets still to him, or to whome else.

Addresse them to the Duke of Richemont.

I assure yo^{r} Ma^{tie} it is here resolved (if my intelligence doth not much deceaue me) to presse yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, at y^{e} next meeting in P'liam^{t} for y^{e} like Act touching y^{e} elecc'on of officers and Councellors here, as yo^{r} Ma^{tie} hath graunted to y^{e} Scots; & in this I believe yo^{r} Ma^{tie} will find a more generall concurrency & accord, then hath bene in any one thing this P'liam^{t}; for many here say, that otherwise all y^{e} great offices and places of councellors here, wilbe filled upp wth Scotsmen. I beseech yo^{r} Ma^{tie} to vouchsafe to consider well of this particular,

You shall doe well to aduyse with some of my best seruants there how this may be preuented, for I asseur you, that I doe not meane to grant it.

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* This report was false, as the King observes. Argyle was not Chancellor of Scotland. But Charles granted him a Marquisate; yet he was afterwards beheaded for high treason, the year after the Restoration. It is remarkable, however, that in 1651 he actually put the crown upon the head of Charles the Second at Edinburgh.

† His own country seat.

and be pleased to conceale that you have ye advertisemt of it from me.

I beseech God to direct & assist yor Matie and yor Councells soe as you may returne wth honour, wch shall ever be ye prayer of

Yor sacred Maties,

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Thorpe, 3 Octobr. 1641. Edw. Nicholas.

Eden. 9.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor most excellnt Matie,

Yesterday I receaved yor Maties com'ands by an apostile vpon my ler of ye 24th of ye last moneth, & forthwth psented yor Maties to ye Queene, and sent that to my Lo. Keeper; & wth this yor Matie will receave 2 lettrs from ye Queene, & one from my Lo. Keeper.

It hath bene here confidently said, by those that holde correspondency wth ye Engl. Comittees in Scotland, that ye Ea. of Arguile shalbe at length Chauncellor, & that ye Lod Amont* shall not be Th'rer; &, if I am not much misinform'd, they are here as peremptorily resolved to presse & put upon yor Matie a Lo. Th'rer &

* This was Levingston, Lord Almont, who had the first command under Lesley in the Scottish army, and was afterwards created Earl of Callendar. Charles certainly intended to give him the office of Lord Treasurer, but was forced to put it into commission, naming the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Lothian, and Lindsey, as Commissioners.

Though* I cannot returne so soone as I could wishe, yet I am confident that you will fynde ther was necessetie for it, & I hope that manie will miss of there ends.

some other officers before they will settle yo^r returne, & nothing can brake their designes here but yo^r Ma^ties presence; & if yo^r Ma^tie do not hasten to be here some dayes before y^e next meeting in Parliam^t, I doubt there wilbe few that will dare to appeare here to oppose y^e party that now swayeth; & I pray God there be not some designe in deteyning yo^r Ma^tie there till yo^r affaires here be reduced to the same state they there are in. I assure yo^r Ma^tie y^e opinion of wise men here is, that to have what officers you desire in that kingdome cannot make soe much for your service there, as yo^r absence hence at this tyme will preiudice you in businesses of more importaunce here: and as for the Lo. Montrosse† & y^e rest, some here (that pretend to understand y^e condic'on of their case) are of opinion, that ther innocency is such, as they will not fare y^e worse for yo^r Ma^ties leaving them to y^e ordinary course of justice there.

This may be trew that you say, but I am sure that I miss sumewhat in point of honnor, if they all be not releued before I goe hence.

I am credibly assured, that y^e Citty of London growes very weary of y^e insolent carriage of y^e Schismaticks, finding their way of governm^t to be wholly arbitrary. Alderman Gourney [Gurney] (according to his right

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* That the King should find any difficulty in settling his Scottish affairs, seemed very extraordinary to some of the politicians of that time; Old Grebner, or rather his Editor, says, "The Devill was in the crags of the Scots, if he left them not contented, who gave them whatever they required." Bulstrode, also, in his Memoirs, confirms that fact; but says, in a more respectful manner, "parted a contented King from a contented people."

† Montrose had very recently quitted the Covenanting party, and joined the King. Vide Guthrie's History of Scotland, vol. IX. p. 328.

and place) is elected Lo. Mayor notwthstanding ye opposic'on of ye factious party, throughe ye stoutnes and good affecc'on of one of ye new Sheriffs (called Clerck), who while ye factious persons were making a noyse, & would not proceede to ye elecc'on, proposed Ald'man Gourney (who I heare is very well affected & stout), & carry'd it, & ye Schismaticks (who cryed noe elecc'on) were silenced wth hisses, & thereupon ye Sheriff dismist ye Court.*

Yor Matie will herewth receave from my Lo. of London ye notes yor Matie sent for to him; his Lopp is soe lame in his hand & shoulder, as he was not able to write to yor Matie, for wch he beggeth yor Maties pardon. His Lop desired me to signify that he hath sent yor Matie ye same individuall papers & notes wch yor Matie hath formerly seene, because yor Matie is best acquainted wth them: & he saith that ye Bpricks that are voyde have a

I returne heerewith to the B. of London, not onlie his noats, but also how all the voide Bish:† ar to bee filled

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* This is a curious piece of civic history, not to be found in any of their records.

† The new-made Bishops were:

Bristol. Thomas Westfield, Archdeacon of St. Alban's, of Jesus College, Cambridge.

Chichester. Henry King, Dean of Rochester, of Christ Church College, Oxford.

Exeter. Ralph Brownrigg, Prebendary of Durham, Scholar and Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge.

Norwich. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter.

Salisbury. Brian Duppa, of Christ Church, Oxford, Bishop of Chichester, Tutor to the Prince, translated to Winchester.

Worcester. John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College,

cipher set before them; his Lop alsoe entreated me to acquaint yor Matie that ye party whome you had in yor thoughts for ye Bprick of Chichester desires to be spared for that place, if yor Matie soe please, & at yor returne he will acquaint yor Matie wth ye reason of it.

I have tould ye Queene what yor Matie wrote to me touching ye Collar of rubies, & by her Maties co'maund I have sent to speake wth Sr Job Harby about that busines, whereof by my next I shall give yor Matie a further accompt. I shall have a care to send in yor Maties name to all such Lods (as ye Queene shall direct) not to faile to attend ye downe sitting of ye P'liamt.

The Committees of both Houses met this afternoone att a conference, they were all bare-headed during ye conference, both Lodds & Co'mons by a privatt intimac'on, but if ye Lods shonld have put on their hatts, ye Co'mons were resolved to have donne soe likewise. Their conference was concerning some troopers, who flock to ye Committees in soe great numbers, as they have agreed vpon an order to be fortwth printed for sending them away, a coppy of wch order is herewth sent. Vpon letrs from ye Lo. Howard, and ye rest of ye Com-'ittees (advertising that yor Matie will not come from

in a noate aparte, all w'th my owen hand; wherein you ar to obserue two things to him; first, that I haue altered somewhat frome my former thoughts, to satisfie the tymes, & yet I hope, that I haue not disserued my selfe, in my elections: secondly, that in filling the Bish: I haue voided 3 Deaneries, to witt Westminster, St. Paules, & Rocester, wch I haue not thought fitt to fill, untill my returne, because I am not yet well resolued in anie of them; onlie I intend (if the tymes will suffer it) to gine that of Westminster * to him that I intend it should have been B. of Chicester.

Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church, died 1650.

York. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Keeper, died 1650.

Carlisle. James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, ob. 1655.

* Westminster was at present vacant in consequence of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York, having been suspended by the Court of Star Chamber. John Earl was the next holder of the Deanery.

Scotl. this moneth at soonest) they have leave to come home as they desire, wth power to leave any of their company behinde them if they shall see cause. The Comittee of ye Com'ons here, upon pretence that some of their letrs have miscarryed, doe now send an expresse messenger wth their letrs to their Comittees, & I am privatly tould that that messenger carries letrs that advertise all their secret designes from ye close councells that have beene held here: & that he sets not forth from hence till too-morrow noone at soonest, soe as this wil be wth yor Matie before him. I beseech God to send yor Matie a speedy, safe, & hoble returne, & soe will euer pray,

Yor sacred Maties
Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
Westminster, 5: 8bris, 1641. Edw. Nicholas.
Eden. 12.

"For yor Sacred Matie."
In the King's writing:
"Yours apostyled."
5a 8bris 1641. Apostild 12o. By Sr Wm Balletine.

The Queen to Sir E. Nicholas.

Maistre Nicholas, I send you the names of the Lords that I thinke fit to be send for. You must to aduertice the Bishops to be heer, so haning no more to say I reste

Your assured frend,
Henriette Marie R.

Cumberland, huntintong, bath, Northampton, Dee-

uonchier, bristoll, Newcastell, Pawlett, Couentry, Seymer, Cotintong.*

If you wood writt to bridgeman † to com and to speake to all is frends in that contray is in Lencachier and so to as manie as ar your frends: for mene others I haue spokne my selfe to them already.

"For Maistre Nicholas."

Indorsed, "R. 5o 8bris 1641, the Queenes lettr to me."

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

Since my last of ye 7th present, I receaved yor Maties comaunds apostiled ye 2nd of this moneth, & have presented yor Maties letr to ye Queene, whereof I have herewth sent an aunsweare from her Matie, wch came this day to my hands. I have acquainted her Matie (as you were pleased to comaund) that yor Matie wished that some of yor servaunts here would meete to countermyne ye plots here, but ye Queene saith, that cannot be done in yor Maties absence. I have written letrs to all such Lodds, as I have had direcons to send unto, to attend att

I confesse not so well, bnt yet so much as may doe much good, therfore be diligent in it.

* The preceding Peers may be easily understood, notwithstanding her Majesty's royal grant of new names; and this, which is the most Gallicised, is evidently intended for the Lord Cottington.

† This most probably was the famous Sir Orlando Bridgeman, then Master of the Court of Wards, and Attorney to the Prince of Wales; or else one of his brothers, sons of the Bishop, two of whom were married into Lancashire families.

ye downe sitting of ye Parliamt. Touching yor Maties Collar of Rubies, ye Queene wishes that nothing be donne in it till ye next weeke, when Sr Job Harby saith he shall receave aunsweare to his lers sent into ye Low Countries, & in ye meane tyme I am privatly to informe myself by what warrant that iewell was put into Sr Job Harbyes or any other hands.

You shall doe well to doe so.

Yor Matie will herewth receave a letr from my Lo: Lieutenant of Ireland.* The insolency & disorders of ye disbanded souldiers in & neer this towne is soe great, as ye Lods of ye Councell (who met this day at Whitehall) have thought fit that some course should be forthwth taken to disperse & send them away, & to that purpose their Lopps humbly desire to know yor Maties pleasure whether a proclamac'on shal be issued by ye Lods Com'issioners (whome yor Matie did authorise to set forth proclamac'ons upon certeyne occasions in yor Maties absence) to ye effect of ye inclosed printed order of ye Com'ittees of both Houses, (whereof yor Matie had formerly a coppy sent); but this their Lopps intend should be without taking any notice of that order, unlesse yor Matie shall expressly direct that menc'on be made of it; in this partic'lar their Lops pray yor Maties speedy resoluc'on & order.

I thinke it most fitt.

by anie meanes.

The principall cause ye Lods meeting this day in Councell was to consider of some let'rs from Irland concerning London Derry,† whereupon they have sent to ye

* The Earl of Leicester—but he never went over to take possession of his Government.

† The historians of the day are silent with respect to any circumstances connected with the City, except those already alluded to.

Lo^ds Justices for further informac'on before they can doe any thing in it. I pray for yo^r Ma^ties happy dispatch of yo^r great affaires there, & safe returne for England, as being

Yo^r sacred Ma^ties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 9^o Octo^bre 1641. Edw. Nicholas.

Eden. 13.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^tie,

I receaved (by young S^r Rob: Pye *) on Satterday last yo^r Ma^ties com'aunds by apostile of y^e 5^th p^esent, & am much ioyed, that there is hope of yo^r Ma^ties returne sooner then is generally reported here, where it is confidently said (amongst y^e most authentique intelligencers in Scottish affaires), that yo^r Ma^tie will not be here till Christmas, & I assure yo^r Ma^tie they give forth, as if yo^r Ma^tie were likely to receaue but an ill harvest of all y^e paynes yo^r Ma^tie hath taken: But I hope y^e happy conclusion of yo^r businesses there, shall now very shortly, by good effects, contradict and falsify their stories.

I humbly conceaue that it may be for yo^r Ma^ties honour & advantage, that y^e Lo: Mayor of London wayte on yo^r Ma^tie att yo^r returne, that you may have thereby opportunity to shew yo^rself gra'cous to yo^r people, by speaking a short word now & then to them as you passe amongst them, to cheere & encourage them in their dutifull affecc'ons to yo^r Royall person; & therefore I be-

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* Of Lockhamsted, Bucks, Baronet; but now extinct.

seech yo^r Ma^tie, that by yo^r next I may receave yo^r pleasure, whither I shall intimat to y^e Lo. Mayor, that yo^r Ma^tie will expect that he & his brethren attend yo^r Ma^tie accordingly: And I humbly desire to know to whome I shall addresse let^rs for yo^r Ma^tie, when you shalbe on yo^r iourney hither, for that I beleeve Mr. Thre'r will not ride soe fast as yo^r Ma^tie. The occasion of this dispatch is y^e inclosed from my Lo: Keeper.

I doe lyke well, that you should doe so.

To the Duke of Riche: (Richmond.)

The Queene sent me word even now that she shall not write by this packet. We hope yo^r Ma^ties next l'^rs will satisfy yo^r good servaunts expectac'on here w^th the desired newes of yo^r Ma^ties happy & speedy returne, w^ch is y^e earnest prayer of

Yo^r Sacred Ma^ties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Thorpe: Munday 11^o 8^bris 1641. Edw. Nicholas.

Eden: 18

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^tie,

Yesterday I sent to yo^r Ma^tie in myne a let'r from my Lo^d Keeper by packet: and this is to give yo^r Ma^tie advertisem^t, that y^e Lo^dds of yo^r Ma^ties Privy Councell met here this morning, to consider of some Irishe businesses, when they agreed upon a let'r to be forthw^th sent to yo^r Ma^tie w^th their Lo^ps advise, for divers reasons expressed in their said let'r (a coppy whereof for better expedic'on is here inclosed), to giue order to yo^r Ma^ties Justices in Irland to prorogue y^e parliam^t there (w^ch is to meete y^e 9^th of No^ber) till ffebruary next: the originall under y^e Lo^ds hands shalbe sent to yo^r Ma^tie as soone as

it can be got signed, if yo^{r} Ma^{tie} shall approve of their Lo^{ps} advise, you may be pleased for better expedic'on to send one let^{r} under yo^{r} Ma^{ties} hand imediatly from Edenburg into Irland by an expresse messenger to y^{e} Lo^{dds} Justices, forthwth to set forth a proclamac'on to that purpose: & another by the way of West Chester or thereabouts, least y^{e} former should miscarry or receave delay. The Lo^{dds} of yo^{r} Ma^{ties} Privy Councell here have also this day giuen order to the Justices of Peace (in & neere London) to take a course, that a more effectuall and strict order be taken for present sending away all y^{e} disbanded souldiers (w^{ch} still pester this city): & for shutting up of all houses infected, for that y^{e} sicknes disperseth very much & dangerously hereabouts.

I have done this alreddic.

There was this day nothing donne by the Comittees of either House worthy yo^{r} Ma^{ties} notice. There is a strong report (spred by persons of best creddit here for intelligence & knowledge of y^{e} proceedings in Scotl:) that yo^{r} Ma^{tie} will not be here these 2 moneths, but what ground they have for it, I cannot learne.

There is a whispering here, as if yo^{r} Parliam^{t} (when it meetes) would adiourne for some moneths, or to some other place: I tould my Lo: Keeper this day that if y^{e} P'liam^{t} should adiourne to a further day, (thoughe but for a moneth or two) before they passed y^{e} Bill of Tonnage & Poundage to yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, (the same being graunted only to y^{e} first of Decem: next,) it would put yo^{r} Ma^{tie} to a great streight for want of monny to uphold yo^{r} house, & for divers other occasions: and I humbly offer it to yo^{r} Ma^{ties} considerac'on, whether it may not be fitt for you to let my Lo: Keeper, & some other of yo^{r} Ma^{ties} best affected servaunts of either House of P'liam^{t} know, what you would have them to insist upon in case

I would not have that intention hindered, Cambridge would be best.

For this, I would haue you consult with the Keeper & others of my seruants what to doe in it, leaving it to your discretions to doe as you shall see cause, but I would have the adjurnement furthered by anie meanes.

there should be any moc'on for a further adiournemt, before yor Maties returne, by reason of ye sicknes, wch growes soe rife & dangerous, as will make such a moc'on willingly hearkened unto. My humble & earnest prayers shalbe still for a prosperous dispatch of yor affaires there, & for yor Maties speedy & safe returne, there being noe man so much obliged to yor Matie for yor grac'ous favour, as

Yor sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 12o 8bris. 1641. Edw. Nicholas.

Eden: 18:

Superscribed "for yor Sacred Matie."

Written by the King; "Yours apostyled."

Written on the back by Sir E. N.: "Sent by Mr. Mungo Murrey, and recd back by 'e post boy of Barbican the 23th at Westr at 9 at nyght. His Matie is constant in ye doctrine & discipline of ye Church."

As I haue beene sufficientlie slandered heere, in sume respects, so there also I heere that I haue not mist those good offices, though in an other kynde, as being resolved, at my retorne, to alter the forme of the Churche gouernement in England to this heere: therefor I com'and you to asseure all my seruants there that I am constant for the Doctrine & Discipline of the Churche of England as it was established by Queene Elis. & my Father, & resolues, (by the grace of God) to liue & dey in the maintenance of it.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

I receaved yesterday yor Maties apostile of ye 9th present by Mr. Barkley, & have (according to yor Maties com'and) addressed this packet to ye Duke of Richmond, & shall soe contynue my addresses, untill I shall understand of Mr. Th'rers returne to Court. Yor Matie com-'aunds me to advise wth some of yor best servaunts here, how to pvent the intenc'ons of some here to presse yor Matie at ye next meeting in P'liamt for ye like Act touching ye elecc'on of officers & councellors here, as you have graunted in Scotland. I (wth all humility) assure yor Matie, that I conceave it no lesse difficult for me (now in

If your owen observation doe not sufficiently tell you, lett my Wyfes direction guyde you.

It will be well done.

yo^{r} absence when y^{e} awe of the Parliam^{t} is upon all in generall) to discerne who are yo^{r} Ma^{ties} best servaunts here, then it is almost impossible for such yo^{r} servaunts, to know what to doe or advise, to p^{e}vent soe plausible a designe, w^{ch} in my poor opinion nothing can soe well divert, as yo^{r} Ma^{ties} speedy returne: but of this intend forthwth to speake wth the Queene.

This inclosed is y^{e} let^{r} from y^{e} Lo^{dds} of yo^{r} Ma^{ties} Privy Counsell, whereof in my last by Mr. Mungo Murrey* I sent a coppy: their Lo^{pps}, as soon as they rose from Councell, (& before y^{e} let^{r} was drawne) dispersed themselves to their severall homes in y^{e} country, w^{ch} is y^{e} cause (as I am tould), that it was this day before it was brought signed to me for yo^{r} Ma^{tie}. The more secrecy and expedic'on there is used in dispatch of yo^{r} Ma^{ties} let^{r} to y^{e} Lo^{dds} Justices (if you shall approove of their Lo^{pps} advise) y^{e} better, & that made me p^{e}sume to hasten to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} y^{e} coppy, before y^{e} let^{r} itself was

* Murrey (Mungo) was a confidential servant and gentleman of the bedchamber to the King, who often entrusted him with private correspondence, an anecdote respecting which deserves notice. In February 1646, whilst the King was in the power of the English Commissioners at Newcastle, Murrey, having obtained leave of absence on pretence of visiting Scotland, was admitted to his Majesty's presence before witnesses for the purpose of kissing his hand. The Commissioners, however, were so suspicious and watchful, that they observed something put into his hand by the King; and having followed him, when out of the presence, they searched him, and found a letter in cypher directed to Montreuil the French agent. The letter was immediately sent up to the Parliament, and Murrey committed to prison, but admitted to bail after two days confinement.

signed. I finde that ye Com'ttees of both Houses (by reason of ye contynuaunce of ye sicknes) incline to be very earnest, when ye Parliamt meets next, to perswade a further adiournemt for a tyme, but Mr. Pym, & those of his party, will not heare that ye P'liamt shalbe held any where but in London or Westminster: I hope yor Matie (if you shall stay there past ye 18th present) will send some direcc'ons to yor servaunts here how to apply their endeavours in P'liamt, in case there shalbe any debate touching an adiournemt.

I haue given sufficient order in all this alreddy.

I haue syned it, & therefor see that it be imediatlie sent ouer, for tell my Wyfe that I shall loose no tyme in sending to Sr Will: Boswell * as she desyres.

I have herewth by ye Queenes com'aund sent yor Matie ye draught of a warrant for yor Maties hand for ye delivery of yor Maties Collar of Rubies to Sr Wm Boswell for yor Maties use: I tould Sr Job Harby, that Sr Wm was to kepe it till yor Matie should send for it. The Queene tould me yesterday, that she would write to yor Matie to be pleased wth yor owne hand to give Sr Wm Boswell order what to doe wth ye said Collar, for it is apparent, that these merchaunts dare not have a hand in the engaging of it, but they say they will take order that, upon receipt of yor Maties warraunt, it shalbe safely delivered accordingly.

If yor Matie shall stay long from hence †, I humbly

* Boswell seems to have been an old confidential servant of the King, who mentions him as his agent in 1634, in a letter to the Queen of Bohemia. Vide Bromley's Letters, p. 67. He was also in the confidence of the Palatine Princes about the same time. Vide Bromley, p. 79. He was, at this period, the British Resident at the Hague, but afterwards fell into disgrace, as appears by a subsequent letter of the Queen of Bohemia.

† On this day the King wrote a letter to the Lord Keeper, desiring him to inform the Parliament that he was unavoid-

pray yo^r Ma^tie wilbe pleased to let me understand w^h whome you would have me to advise concerning yo^r affaires here, & that yo^r Ma^tie would vouchsafe to let them know, how farre yo^r Ma^tie would have them to confide in me in any yo^r Ma^ties services, that I may have y^e more creddit w^th them, when I shall have occasion to attend them, & be y^e better able to annsweare yo^r Ma^ties expectac'on. I haue not bene att Oatlands since Mr. Berkley came, but am this morning going to wayte on y^e Queene, to know if her Ma^tie hath any com'aunds for

I haue tould you in my former Dispaches.

I shall doe this.

Yo^r sacred Ma^ties

Most humble & obedient servaunt,

Thorpe; 15 8bris, 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden: 20:

"For yo^r sacred Ma^tie." By the King: "Yours apostyled." 15^o 8^bris 1641. Apost: 20. R. 25^o at 9. at night.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^tie,

Yo^r Ma^ties sent by S^r W^m Ballatine* were delivered here y^e 18^th of this moneth by 4 in y^e afternoone.

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ably detained, but that he would make all diligence to return. This was read to the Lords on the 26th. Vide Parliamentary Debates.

* Afterwards Lord Ballenden, the first Peer of that name. In 1640 he appears, by Bromley's Royal Letters, pp. 115, 116, to have been attached as Minister at the Palatine Court. He was much in the confidence of all the branches of the Royal Family; and obtained the peerage from Charles the Second for his very useful and active services during the Usurpation.

Upon letrs from ye Englishe Co'mittees now in Scotl: to ye Com'ittee here, relating ye newes of Mar: Hamiltons, the Ea: of Arguiles, and Ea: of Lannericks abandoning ye Court & Parliamt there,* our Com'ittee here was yesterday in a great fright, & (declaring that they conceaved the same to be a plot of ye Papists there, & of some Loddes & others here,) sent psent order to ye Lo; Mayor &c. to dubble ye gardes & watches of this Citty & Suborbs, & it is thought that this busines will this day in Parliament be declared to be a greater plot against the Kingdomes and Parliamts in Eng: & Scotl: then hath bene discovered at all. There have bene some well-affected parliamt-men here wth me this morning to know

I was the lesse carfull to send a perfect relation of this business, because I sent one of whose discretion & knowledg I was & am so confident, that I thought his discourse of the business as hauing beene an ey witness would haue satisfied more then anie written relation, therefore I desyre you to call on him in my name to satisfie well affected persones, of the treuth of that w'ch passed while he was heere; &, for what hath passed since, I haue directed the D: of Rich: to giue you such an account as there is.

* This is the affair which, in the history of that time, went by the name of "The Incident." Lord Lanerick's relation of it may be seen in Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. II. p. 299, wherein he asserts that there was a plan laid, by the opposite party, to cut the throats of himself and the two Lords mentioned in this letter; and he adds, that their "abandoning the Court and Parliament" was literally nothing more than quitting Edinburgh in order to save their lives.

There is an hiatus in the Hardwicke Papers from 1641 to 1685. His Lordship, in a note on Lord Lanerick's relation, laments that very little is known respecting a dark affair "which nobody understood at the time," particularly as the Hamilton Collection seems very defective at that period. These present Letters, however, may avail the future historian in clearing up difficulties and in prosecuting research.

The affair is particularly noticed in Pym's Report of the Committees, on the re-opening of Parliament, which may be referred to in vol. X. of the Parliamentary History, page 5.

whether I had any relac'on of that busines, but finding I had none, but only a few words from Mr. Sec'rie Vane, wch I shewed to them, they seemed much troubled, as not knowing what to say to it: I hasten this of purpose to give yor Matie notice hereof, & to pray yor Matie, that there may be sent hither wth all possible dilligence a full & p'fect relac'on of ye present disturbance there, & the cause & grounds thereof, & what upon exa'iac'on it appeares to that parliamt to be: all wch, I humbly wishe may be certefyed hither in as authentique a way,* & from as vnsuspected a hand as may be.

It is now under examination, w'ch as soone as it (is) ended you shall be sure to haue.

If Mr. Secr'ie Vane had written to me, or any of his friends here, a true narrac'on of that busines, it would have given much satisfacc'on here, and stopped the causles alarmes that are taken vpon ye noyse of it, that busines being now by ye relac'on of diverse Scotsmen here made much worse, then I beleeve it will proove in ye end.

The Queene tould me yesterday that she will wryte to yor Matie this night or too morrow, but I thought it not fitt to deferre this packet now for her Maties letr, which shalbe hastened away as soone as Ishall receave it. The inclosed from Sr Art: Hopton,† I receaved from my Lo: Cottington wth direcc'on to send it to yor Matie.

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* The Parliament met this day; the first time after the recess.

† He was uncle to Sir Ralph Hopton, the famous Royalist General; and, when the latter was created Lord Hopton, Sir Arthur was named heir in remainder, in default of issue male; but dying before his nephew, he never enjoyed those honours. He was of a Somersetshire family, the Hoptons of Wytham.

Yor Matie will I hope pardon this hasty expression of the humble diligence of

Yor sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Edw. Nicholas.

As I was closing this, I receaved for yor Matie this letr from my Lo: Marshall.

Written by the King:

" Those of yours, wch I returne not to you apostyled, I alwais burne."

Westminster, 20: 8bris 1641.

Eden. 24.

" For yor sacred Matie."

" Yours apostyled."

20. 8bris 1641. Apost. 24o 8bris.

R. 30 at 7 at night at Thorpe. Rec. of Capt. Smith.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

I hope my ler, wch I hastily wrote to yor Matie yesterday by packet, wilbe come to yor Royall hands before this, & that wee shall speedily receaue a relac'on of this busines concerning the Marquis & ye rest, wch all yor servaunts here call for very earnestly.

Yor Maties ler to my Lo: Keeper was carefully delivered to his owne hands yesterday before ye sitting of ye Parliamt, but his Lopp tells me, that ye effect of it was knowne here some dayes before he receaved it: wch is an infinite pciudice to yor Maties affaires here; such anticipation of yor Maties direcc'ons in businesses of importaunce renders ye same impossible, or extreame difficult, to be effected: And I observe that ye perfect intelligence,

Of this I much wonder, for on my credit I acquainted nobodie with the contents thereof, & am verie confident that none heere knew whether I writt to him or not: therefor I thinke it fitt that you

should try as much as may be how this is come, & whether it be an intelligence or conjectur.

that is here of all yo^r Ma^ties resoluc'ons & proceedings there, puts lief and spiritt into some here, who w^thout that encouragem^t & light, would (I beleeve) pay more reverence to yo^r Ma^ties councells and acc'ons.

Before this, that is satisfied.

When yo^r Ma^tie hath made stay y^e disbanding of 5 companies remayning in Barwick,* it is here thought fit not to make any order to y^e contrary, but it is declared (as I heare) that from y^e 15th of this moneth (w^ch was y^e tyme appoynted by y^e Houses for disbanding all that garrison) those companies shall have no further pay from y^e Comonwealth as it is called, and concerning this, there is to be speedily a conference w^th y^e Lo^dds, w^th y^e issue whereof I shall acquaint yo^r Ma^tie by my next.

I remember that I had some discourse w'th the Eng: Par: men about Prorogation, but I'm confident that it was efter my Lett: was written, if it were serius, all others wer in consequence of the Plague at randome.

Sir Jo. Berkley was yesterday com'itted to y^e Tower, & Capt. O'Neale to y^e Gatehouse by y^e House of Co'-mons vpon y^e old business.† Yo^r Ma^tie will herew^th receave a coppy of y^e let^r sent hither by y^e Com'ittees in Scotland, and of y^e order made thereupon y^e day before y^e P'liam^t by y^e Com'ittees here. I have p^esented yo^r Ma^ties let^r to y^e B^pp of London, who hath promised to use all possible expedic'on in p'formaunce of yo^r Ma^ties comaunds therein.

The Lo^dds Commissioners have given order for p^epar-ing a Proclamac'on for p^esent dispersing & sending

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* The jealousy of the Parliament about Berwick was so very great, that when the Scottish Army, upon their return in August, wished to march through that garrison, a wooden bridge was actually ordered to be built over the Tweed, at some distance from the town.

† It was also ordered, the Lords should be desired to examine those gentlemen respecting the charges brought against them.

away of ye disbanded souldiers,* as yor Matie directed by yor apostile of the 13th of this moneth. My Lo: Keeper delivered me this morning to be sent to yor Matie this paper, wch was psented to his Lop in ye nature of a protestac'on by ye persons therein vndernamed: his Lopp tells me he hath formerly acquainted yor Matie wth that busines. My Lo: of Bristoll† tould me this day, that he heares from severall hands, that there is an intenc'on to question his Lop, & his sonne ye Lo: Digby, but he knowes not for what, & he tells me that nothing shall deterre him from p'formaunce of his duty. This day there was twice read in ye Com'ons House a Bill for taking away the Votes of Bpps in ye Vpper House, and that Bill is comitted, and it is said it will passe both Houses wthin two days. The disobedience against ye order of ye House of Co'mons concerning innovac'ons, was this day questioned in that House, & after a long debate, there was no way found or resolved on, to punishe those that disobeyed ye same, for that that order was conceaved

For divertion of this & other mischeefes, I would ye should put Bristo in mynde to renew that dispute betwixt the two Houses, concerning the Parlament Protestation w'ch Southampton was so fearse upon.

* May, in his History of the Parliament, says that both the armies, English and Scotch, "quietly departed, conducted to their owne homes by order from Justices of Peace through the several counties."

† The Earl of Bristol had mingled much in party politics previous to this date. He had been Ambassador to Spain in proposing Charles's marriage with the Infanta; and afterwards impeached in Parliament respecting the treaty and its failure; but he had such influence with the House of Commons as to bring about a counter impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham. This may account for his hostility to Charles's friend, Lord Strafford, though the prospect of rebellion now induced him to support the Royal Cause. Vide Bulstrode, page 14.

by most in y^t House not to be iustifyable by lawe, & therefore not binding.*

In this, I hope, this dispache will satisfie your longins, but I belive, not some of your expectations.

I have herew^th sent yo^r Ma^tie some notes of y^e effect of y^e conference this day betweene y^e 2 Houses. I beseech God amongst those great distracc'ons to p^eserve yo^r Ma^tie in safety: & I beseech yo^r Ma^tie to give me leave once more to put you in minde to hasten hither a true relac'on of y^e vnhappy interrupc'on of yo^r affaires there, for I find, that yo^r servaunts here are much disheartened that they are kept soe long in darknes in a busines soe highly importing yo^r hon^r, & yo^r Ma^ties owne person. I expected a let^r from y^e Queene for yo^r Ma^tie this day, but I beleeve her Ma^tie pu'poses to send her let^rs by an expresse; for that there are none come from her Ma^tie as yet to be conveyed by

Yo^r sacred Ma^ties
Most humble & most
obedient servaunt,
Westminster, 21^o 8^bris 1641. Edw. Nicholas.

Eden: 28:
" For yo^r sacred Ma^tie."
" Yours apostyled."
Apost: 28 8^bris.—R. 1^o No^bris. at 5 at night, by Mr. Wm. Murray.

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* None of these circumstances are stated in the Parliamentary History; yet they are important with respect to the annals of those times.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^tie,

I receaved Satterday night last yo^r Ma^ties of y^e 18^th p^esent, & have safely delivered yo^r Ma^ties to y^e Queene & my Lo: Keeper: the messenger that was sent w^th yo^r Ma^ties said l'ter, (bruysing himself w^th a fall from his horse soe as he was not able to ride) sent yo^r Ma^ties to me single by y^e ordinary post, w^ch made me suspect that it had bene intercepted, but it came very safe. I have alreddy made known to diverse Lo^dds & others yo^r Ma^ties pious resoluc'on to mainteyne constantly y^e doctryne & disciplyne of y^e Church of England, & have by their advise delivered extracts (of what yo^r Ma^tie hath written) to diverse of yo^r Ma^ties servaunts, that yo^r piety therein may be vnderstood by yo^r good people here.

The Queene sent S^r W^m Ballatine from hence on Friday last, & he going im'ediatly from Oatlands w^thout calling here, I lost y^e opportunity of sending by him, but I p^epared my l'ter of y^e 23^th reddy for him, w^ch I have now sent by this gent. Mr. Tho. Elliot.

Wee here begin to app^ehend that in y^e great troubles there, some of yo^r Ma^ties packets may miscarry, & therefore I held it my duty to let yo^r Ma^tie vnderstand, that since myne of y^e 12^th (w^ch yo^r Ma^tie hath return'd) I have sent to yo^r Ma^tie let^rs of y^e 15^th & 18^th, both w^ch were addressed in packets to y^e D. of Richmond, & afterwards 2 other packets of y^e 20^th & 21^th directed to Mr. Th'rer. I haue receaued them all & thease also.

As concerning y^e adiournem^t of y^e P'liam^t here, my Lo: Keeper tells me, that he hath, by his l'ter sent in myne of y^e 21^th fully acquainted yo^r Ma^tie how y^e expectac'on was here frustrated. The Vpper House did Sat- It is trew.

terdy last reade ye Bill transmitted to them by ye Comons, for taking away ye votes of Bps, & intend (as I heare) to speede it as fast as may be, notwthstanding it is said to be against ye auntient order of P'liamt to bring in a Bill againe the same Sessions, that it was reiected.* Yor Maties best servaunts here remayne still in great payne, that in all this tyme they have not receaved any pfect relac'on of ye late disorders at Edinb: concerning Mar: Hamilton & ye rest, & they are the more impatient, in regarde they heare that some of ye Com'ons house have coppyes of ye examinac'ons taken in that busines, & other aduertisemts touching ye same. I beseech God to send yor Matie forth of that laberinth of troubles there, & a safe & hoble returne for Engl: wch willbe most welcome to all honnest men here, and to none more then to

Bid my seruants make as much vse of this objection as may bee.

Yor sacred Maties

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

Edw. Nicholas.

Westminster, 25o 8bris 1641.

Eden. 30.

Written by the King:

"I hope this ill newes of Ireland † may hinder some of theas follies in England."

"For yor sacred Matie."

"Yours apostyled."

25o 8bris 1641. Apost. 30 8bris.

Rec. 4o Nobris in ye morning.

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* The Lords, however, did not proceed so far, until, on the 22d of October, the House of Commons sent up Mr. Holles "to put them in mind of their complaint exhibited against the thirteen Bishops who made the last new Canons, and to pray a speedy proceeding therein."

† This is a verification of the old proverb, that "Ill news

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

I sent to yor Matie ye 25th of this pesent 2. letrs by Mr. Elliot,* & ye same night I receaved yor Maties apostile of ye 20th, and pesently sent away yor Maties to ye Queene, & delivered that to my Lo: Keeper. I shall forthwth deliver yor Maties warrt to Sr Job Harby, & hasten ye dispatch of that busines.

I have herein sent yor Matie a coppy of an order made by the Peers concerning ye jurisdic'con of ye Archbp. of Cant. In this packet there is sent to yor

Hen. Vane will returne all those syned by mee w'th this Packe to my L: of Lon:

travels fast; for the Irish Rebellion broke out on the 25th of October, and the King's memorandum, or apostyle, is dated the 30th. The return of the letter to Sir Edward, on the 4th of November, is a further proof of the rapidity of travelling at that period between Edinburgh and London.

The King's opinion respecting the interference of Parliament in Irish affairs, may be drawn from an anecdote preserved in an old tract in the British Museum; when in conversation with the Earl of Pembroke, in March 1641, his Majesty said, "The businesse of Ireland will never be done in the way that you are in; four hundred will never do that work; it must be put in the hands of one. If I were trusted with it, I would pawn my head to end that work. And though I am a beggar myself, yet (speaking with a strong asseveration) I can find moneye for that."

* This is the same person to whom, in 1642, the Lord Keeper Lyttelton delivered the Great Seal, when the King sent him for it. Lyttelton, terrified at what he had done, fled immediately afterwards to join the King at York. May states him to have been "a young gentleman, and Groom of the Privy Chamber to his Majesty."

Matie by my Lod. of London severall Bills for yor Maties signature for ye new Bps, wth a ltr from his Lop touching that busines.

There is still kept here a strict garde & watch about ye Parliamt houses of 100. of ye trayned bands, besides diverse other watchmen: ye petence is an appehension of some conspiracy of ye Papists against ye P'liamt here, answerable to that against some Lods in Scotl: & ye alarme of popishe plots amuse and fright ye people here, more then any thing, & therefore that is ye drum that is soe frequently beaten uppon all occasions; & ye noyse of an intenc'on to introduce Popery was that wch first brought into dislike wth the people ye govermement both of ye Church and Comonwealth. I have not bene sparing to make knowne yor Maties pious resoluc'on to mainteyne ye doctrine & disciplyne of the Church of Engl: wch I perceave gives very good satisfac'on.

I comand you to speake with the Keeper & my L: Bankes to see if it can bee waranted by anie reule or president that the Vpper House may chuse there Speaker.

My Lo: Keeper having occasion to wayte on ye Queene this day, did yesterday move ye House for leave, & tould their Lops that my Lo: Bankes had a co'misson dormant to be Speaker in his absence, but ye Lods said they would chuse their owne Speaker, & soe named ye Lo. P. Seale,* whereupon my Lo. Keeper said he would (to avoide all question) rather stay, but ye Lods pressed him not to forbeare his iourney, least ye Queene might take it ill, & soe his Lop goes this day to Oatlands, & ye Lo. P. Seale is to be Speaker in his absence.

Judge Berkley† was yesterday att ye bar in ye Vpper

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* Henry Earl of Manchester.

† He was Justice of the King's Bench; was committed to the Tower by the Lords on a charge of high treason, and

House, & there heard his charge read, to wch he pleaded not guilty, & made a prudent answeare; whereupon tyme is given him till Tuesday next to produce witnesses concerning soe much of his charge as relates to misdemeanors. The House of Com'ons did yesterday by vote declare, that ye 13 Bishops, * (who are questioned for making ye new cannons,) ought not to haue vote in ye Lods House in any busines: & they are this day to have a conference wth ye Lods thereupon, & also touching ye excluding of all ye Bps from voting in ye Bill (wch is passed ye Com'ons House) to take away totally ye Bps votes.† All yor Maties best servaunts here pray for yor Maties speedy & happy dispatch of affaires there, con-

You shall doe well to put the B. of Lincolne in mynde concerning the pardon I thought fitt those 13 Bps. should haue for a premunire, that you may giue order to the Atur: for it in my name if he shall thinke it fitt.

afterwards fined in the sum of £20,000, besides being declared incapable of all further administration of justice.

* These were Walter Carle, Bishop of Winchester; Robert Wright, B. Coventry and Lichfield; Godfrey Goodman, B. Gloucester; Joseph Hall, B. Exeter; John Owen, B. St. Asaph; William Piers, B. Bath and Wells; George Cook, B. Hereford; Matthew Wren, B. Ely; William Roberts, B. Bangor; Robert Skinner, B. Bristol; John Warner, B. Rochester; John Towers, B. Peterborough; Morgan Owen, B. Landaff.

† The Bill went further than Sir Edward reports, for it included "Bishops and other persons in holy orders." It was to shut them not only out of Parliament, but also from the Privy Council, the Commission of the Peace, "or execute any temporal authority, by virtue of any commission."

Even the vulgar wit of the day was brought forward in contempt of the Church; and a pamphlet was industriously disseminated, under the title of, "Lord Bishops none of the Lord's Bishops."

ceaving yor pesence would be of very much advantage to yor services here, & this is also ye earnest prayer of

Yor sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 27o 8bris, 1641. Edw. Nicholas.

Eden: 2: No:

By the King:

"I co'mande you to direct my L: Keeper in my name to issew out a Proclamac'on co'manding all Parlament Men to attend on the Parlament.

"Thanke Southampton in my name, for stopping the Bill against the Bishops: &, that at my co'ming, I will doe it myselfe."

"For yor sacred Matie."

"Yours apostyled."

27 8bris Apost. 2o. 9bris.—R. 6o 9bris 1641 at 6. at night. by Mr. Brunker.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

My last to yor Matie was of ye 27th pesent, wch I sent by packet addressed to Mr. Th'rer. Yor Maties long absence encourages some to talke in Parliamt of highe matters. It was yesterday in debate in ye Com'ons House, that ye Parliamt may have the approbac'on of all officers, councellors, amb'dors, and ministers, and yor Matie ye nominac'on.* The reasons alleaged for it were,

* A most extraordinary speech was made on this occasion by "Master Smith, of the Inner Temple," which he has done posterity the favour to publish. In one part he observes:

first that it had bene soe heretofore, & soe is conceaved to be an auntient right: 2ly that ye ill effects that have bene by ye councells & acc'ons of olde officers, councellors, &c. & ye feares that there may be ye like by the new; will make all that hath bene hitherto donne nothing, if this may not be graunted to secure them, whereby the kingdome may be as well pserved as purged. 3dly that yor Matie did heare partic'lar & privat mens advise in ye choyce of yor offirs, councellors, &c. & therefore it can be noe derogac'on for yor Matie to take therein ye advise of ye P'liament. Some said that untill such things as these shalbe granted they cannot wth a good conscyence supply yor Maties necessities: after a long debate this busines was at length referred to a Select Com'ittee to pepare forthwth heads for a peton to be pesented to yor Matie to receave the P'liamts approbac'on of such officers, councellors, &c. as yor Matie shall choose, for better pvenc'on of ye great & many mischeifs that may befall ye Comonwealth by ye choyce of ill councellors, officers, amb'dors & ministers of state, wch peton is to be ripened wth all speede & to be pesented to ye House: there appeared soe many in ye Com'ons House

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" Prerogative and Liberty are both necessary to this kingdom; and, like the sun and moon, give a lustre to this benighted nation, so long as they walk at equal distances; but when one of them shall venture into the other's orb, like those planets in conjunction, they then cause a deeper eclipse." He then concludes a string of uncouth metaphors by assuring the House that it was necessary " so to provide that the Mæcenas's of the times may not, like great jacks in a pool, devour their inferiors, and make poverty a pavement for themselves to trample on."

against this busines, that some conceave that there wilbe noe further proceeding in it, but I doubt it: howsoever I may not forbeare to let yo^r Ma^tie know, that the Lo: ffalkland, S^r Jo. Strangwishe,* Mr. Waller, Mr. Ed. Hide, & Mr. Holborne, & diverse others stood as Champions in maynten'nce of yo^r Prerogative, and shewed for it unaunswerable reason & undenyable p^esedents, whereof yo^r Ma^tie shall doe well to take some notice (as yo^r Ma^tie shall thinke best) for their encouragm't.

I co'mande you to doe it in my name, telling them that I will doe it myselfe at my returne.

The Com'ons House having gotten notice of y^e new B^pps† that are now making, some did mervale that any man should move yo^r Ma^tie for making of B^ps in these tymes, when it is well knowne how great complaints are against them in generall, & some would have had a pet^on or message to be sent to pray yo^r Ma^tie to be pleased to stay

On the contraire I command you to take order that these Billes bee expedited that they may with all possible diligence attend the Parlement.

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* Sir John Strangeways, knt. of Melbury Sampford, Dorsetshire.

† The superstitious feeling respecting political events at that period is curiously exemplified by a contemporary Writer, speaking of the occurrences immediately after Charles's return:

"It happened one day, as some of the ruder sort of citizens came by Whitehall, one busie citizen must needs cry, 'No Bishops!' Some of the gentlemen issued out of Whitehall, either to correct the sauciness of the fool in words, if they would serve, else, it seemes, with blowes; what passed on either side in words none but themselves knew; the citizen, being more tongue than souldier, was wounded, and I have heard dyed of his wounds receaved at that tyme; it hath been affirmed by very many, that in or near unto that place where this fellow was hurt and wounded, the late King's head was cut off, the Scaffold standing just over that place."

ye constituting of any more Bps till ye busines concerning Episcopacy shalbe determyned: but this moc'on was not resented in ye House, & soe ye discourse thereof fell.*

There was yesterday a great debate in ye Upper House about ye Bill for taking away ye Bps votes, & it was very doubtfull, after a long dispute, wch side was likeliest to carry itt, but att length both sides agreed to put off ye further debate thereof till ye 10th of Novr next, before wch tyme it wilbe tryed, of what vallidity ye impeachmt against ye 13 Bps will proove to be.

The considerac'on of these partic'lar passages may be sufficyent to move yor Matie to hasten yor returne, & I shall take ye boldnes to ad to it one more, wch I observed at ye Councell Borde, when Marq: Hertford † moved ye Lodds (upon occasion of these words in Mr. Th'rers lettr to me, viz. that he did hope ye P'liamt of Engl. would interpose & hasten yor Maties returne) to consider whether it might not be fit to move ye P'liamt here to that purpose; most of ye rest of ye Lodds of ye Councele declyned it, in regarde ye ler was not written to ye Boorde but to me, & that Mr. Th'rer left it to my choyce whether to acquaint them wth it or noe; whereby I observe that every one of yor Maties Pr. Councele is not fond of yor speedy returne hither. Yor Matie can best make indgmt by there carriages how much it imports you to hasten hither.

* The Parliamentary History asserts that the motion for a conference with the Lords, for the purpose of drawing up a petition on this subject, was carried, on a division, by 71 to 53.

† Hertford, at this period, was Governor to the Prince of Wales. This branch of the Seymours became extinct in 1675.

I have delivered yo^r Ma^ties warraunt concerning yo^r Collar of Rubies, and am promised that this weeke order shalbe sent into y^e Low Countries for delivery of y^e same accordingly w^th all dilligence possible. The Queene toulde me on Wensday last, that she would send an expresse to yo^r Ma^tie w^thin a few dayes, w^ch I beleeve she hath donne by this tyme. This from my Lo. Keeper was delivered to me for yo^r Ma^tie this afternoone.

I assure yo^r Ma^tie I have bene warn'd by some of my best friends to be wary what I wryte to yo^r Ma^tie, for that there are many eyes upon me both here & in Scotl. & that l'trs that come to yo^r Royall hands doe after oft miscarry & come to others view: albeit this shall not deterre me from p'formaunce of my duty in advertising yo^t Ma^tie of all things that shall occurre to my knowledge of certeynty, importing yo^r Ma^ties service, yet I humbly beseech yo^r Ma^tie to vouchsafe to keepe to yo^rself what I take y^e freedome to imparte, least, in these tymes, that may be rendred to be treason in me, w^ch I humbly conceave to be y^e duty of,

It is a Ley.

I shall.

Yo^r sacred Ma^ties

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 29^o 8^bris 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden. 6 Nov.

I receaued this on Wednesday last. When ye deliver this inclosed to my Wyfe, desyre her not to open it but when she is alone.

Apost. 6^o 9^bris.—Red 11^o 9^bris by Mr. Tho. Killegrew.*

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* This is the gentleman of facetious memory, who is generally known only as the Court buffoon of the succeeding reign, but who had other claims, not generally understood, upon the Royal notice.—At this period he was, or had been, page to Charles the First; and was afterwards an attendant upon Charles the Second during his exile. Some allusions are made to him in subsequent letters; particularly where the

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excell^t Ma^tie,

The 29^th of y^e last moneth I sent yo^r Ma^tie a lt^r in a packet adressed to Mr. Th'rer, & on Satterday last about 7 at night I receaued by Capt. Smith * yo^r Ma^ties co'-maunds apostiled 24^o 8^bris, & according to yo^r Ma^ties co'maunds I gave him yo^r Ma^ties lt^r to p^esent it to y^e Queene. The relac'ons w^ch are here made by any that come from thence, are (for y^e most p^te) varied & reported afterward by others according to y^e sence and affec'on of each several audito^rs, & soe become very uncertaine, & some are apt to credit & report y^e worst of businesses, & to silence what they like not, wherefore I humbly conceave, that a relac'on written by a good & unsuspected hand, would not only gayne best beliefe, but be lesse

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Queen of Bohemia solicits a commission for him. His family was also, in some degree, connected with the Royal family, by the marriage of Mary, daughter of Sir William Killegrew, with Frederic of Zulestein, an illegitimate son of Henry Prince of Orange.

* This Captain Smith displayed great courage, as well as loyalty, in the King's service. In the battle of Edgehill, on the 22d of October, 1642, when Sir Edward Verney, the Royal Standard Bearer, was killed, and the standard taken, Smith rushed amidst the enemy and retook it, for which he was instantly made a knight banneret, and received soon after a large gold medal, "with the King's picture on the one side, and the banner on the other, which he always wore to his dying day, in a large green watered ribband, cross his shoulders." He fell, two years afterwards, at Cheriton fight, sometimes called the battle of Alresford.

subiect to mistakes & misreports: & I hope when ye examinac'ons of ye late disturbances there shalbe published, ye same will cleere all doubts, & giue honnest men full satisfac'on. I have shewen ye Queene & some Lodds the coppy of Marq: Hamiltons 2. and 3d ltrs to yor Matie, whereby he begs yor Maties pardon, wch argues he is not soe faultlesse, & innocent, as we would here render him. I humbly thanke yor Matie that you have bene soe carefull of yor faithfull servaunt, as to burne all such of my lrs, as you returne not to me apostiled, wch soe much concernes my safety, as I assure your Matie, I have bene warned by some of my best freinds both there and here, to be wary in my advertisemts, least being too good a servaunt (these are their very words) doe me hurt.

I have, inclosed, sent yor Matie ye coppy of an order* of ye Parliamt concerning their abundant care of ye Princes highnes safety and education, the reasons thereof

* A conference took place on this subject between the two Houses, wherein it was urged that the Prince had recently been often at the Queen's residence at Oatlands; and though the Commons did not doubt the motherly affection and care of her Majesty towards him, yet there were some dangerous persons at Oatlands, Jesuits and others, and therefore it was desired that the Marquis of Hertford should be enjoined to take the Prince into his custody and charge, attending upon him in person, and also that the Prince would make his ordinary abode and residence at his own house at Richmond. To this it was added, that Lord Hertford should place some person about the Prince to be answerable to both Houses; so that, in fact, the Prince would have been a complete prisoner! When the message was sent to the Queen, she answered, that the Prince was celebrating his Sister's birthday.

were delivered at Oatlands by my Lo. of Holland * to ye Queene, who (I heare) gave a very wise and discreete answeare to ye same, as (I beleeve) her owne pen will very speedily acquaint yor Matie.

It is said there is a new designe discovered of a later intenc'on then Mr. Percyes † to have debauched ye late

* Henry Rich, first Earl of Holland (and second son of the Earl of Warwick), so created by James the First, in 1624. He is recorded in the "Loyal Martyrologie" by Winstanley, as a special favourite of Charles in the early part of his reign, being then Governor of Windsor Castle: yet, after that date, says Winstanley, "when the Long Parliament began to sit, and religion became the bone of contention, he sided with them; but afterwards perceiving that they made religion only a cloak to cover their rebellion, he deserted them, and took up armes for the Royal interest." Being defeated and taken prisoner, he suffered on the same scaffold with the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Capel, on the 9th of March, 1648. In the charge of his siding with the Parliament, Winstanley goes further than Dugdale, and those writers who copy from him; the latter asserting only that the favours heaped on Holland by Charles, made that Earl so fearful of the Parliament's enmity as to induce him not only to stand neutral himself, but also to persuade the Earl of Essex, his near kinsman, and Lord Chamberlain, to desert his Royal Master when forced to fly from Whitehall. De Larrey, a French historian, says of him that he possessed greater genius than his brother, Lord Warwick, who was "a person of an agreeable wit, perhaps a little too much libertine, but knew very well how to dissemble, and imposed on the people by an affected devotion, and going regularly to sermons."

† This passage shews clearly that there were two distinct plots, or so called conspiracies; though some writers have

Army, but what it is I cannot learne. My Lo. Keeper sent to me this day to acquaint yo^r Ma^tie, that y^e p^esent new Lo. Mayor lately sworne (named Rich. Gurney), being not in y^e com'ission of Lieutenn'cy for London & liberties, it wilbe necessary that y^t comiss'on be renewed & his Lo^p put into it, w^ch may soone be donne, if yo^r Ma^tie please to signify yo^r pleasure to my Lo. Keeper to that purpose. The B^p of Chichester humbly desires yo^r Ma^ties licence to be absent from P'liam^t, for w^ch pu'pose I have (at his Lo^ps request) herein sent a warr^t for yo^r Ma^ties signature, if you shall think fitt to signe it. It was ordered on Friday last by y^e Com'ons that there should be heads p^epared for a conference concerning a pet^on to be sent to yo^r Ma^tie to stay y^e making of y^e new B^pps, but this hath not hitherto beene proceeded in any further, and some thinke it wilbe let fall.

Doe you it in my name.

I have syned it, but I will not haue you to make use of it but as my Wyfe shall direct you.

There is newes come to my Lo. Lieutenn't of Ireland of a rebellion in y^e north of that kingdome, raysed (as it is said) by Papistes, whereof one Macguire * is one of y^e chiefest; I have not seene y^e le^ter concerning it, but y^e Lo^ds of yo^r Ma^ties Privy Councell sate yesterday (when I was at Oatlands) in close Councell about it, & this day they were w^th y^e House of Com'ons to advise concerning it as I heare: I beleeve yo^r Ma^tie hath before this receaved advertisem^t of y^e certeynty of this busines out of Ireland, & I doubt not but y^e Lo^ds of yo^r Privy Coun-

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asserted the contrary, respecting the accusations brought forward against Percy, Waller, O'Neale, &c.

* He was brother to the Lord Macguire, who was afterwards tried by order of the Parliament, and hanged, drawn, and quartered, notwithstanding he pleaded his Irish Peerage.

cell here, or my Lo. Lieutenant, will forthwth give yor Matie an account, what they have advised upon herein: if their Lopps doe it not speedily, I shall write further of it, as soone as I may see ye ltter or know some certeynty of it, being unwilling to trouble yor Matie in an affayre of that nature, but upon good grounds, & knowledge of p'tic'lars.

If yor Matie could settle yor affaires well there, soe as you might be here ye next weeke, yor best servaunts here conceave it would then be in yor Maties power, by yor presence, to bring this P'liamt to a reasonable good conclusion, wch that it may be soe, is & shalbe ever ye earnest prayer of,

I hope this next weeke will put an end to this Parlament, so that ye may expect me by the 20: of this monthe.

Yr saced Maties
Most humble and most obedient servaunt,
Edw. Nicholas.

Westminster, Munday 1o Nobris 1641.
Eden: Satterday: 6.

"For yor Sacred Matie."
"Yours apostyled."
Apost: 6: 9bris.—Recd 11o 9bris. by Mr. Tho: Killegrew.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor most excellnt Matie,

Since my ltr sent yesterday by Mr. Barclay, I have receaved by Mr. Wm Murray yor Mats com'aunds by apostile of ye 28th of Octobr & have delivered yor Maties to my Lo. Keeper, together wth a packet from Mr. Th'rer, conteyning ye exa'iac'ons of ye busines touching Marq. Hamilton, &c. All wch were this morning read

at ye Councell Boorde, whereupon their Lops resolved for ye pesent to make knowne in the generall, that they had receaved a faire dispatch concerning that busines, & that it was like to have a speedy, & quyet conclusion; & their Lops, being then to goe to ye Parliamt House about ye Irishe busines, sealed upp ye examinac'ons, & appointed too morrow in the afternoone to consider further of ye same, & to advise in what manner to acquint ye Parliamt therewth. I heare that my Lo. Lieuten'nt of Ireland hath by a dispatch this morning sent yor Matie an accompt of all ye partic'lars touching ye Rebellion in that kingdome,* wch ye Parliamt here takes to hart, & there is a Com'ittee of 12 Lods together wth some of ye House of Com'ons appointed this evening to goe into London to treate wth ye Lo. Mayor, Aldermen & Com'on Councell to borrow 50 m. l. to be forthwth sent into Irland, to pay & encourage ye old Army & alsoe such new souldiers as are there lately taken up to make head to ye Rebells, for wch somes ye Citty is to be secured by Act of Parliamt, both for principall & interest.

It is said that one Owen Conelles† (a servaunt of Sr

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* In vol. VI. of Somers' Tracts, page 378, is the Report of the Lord Keeper to the House of Commons on the 1st of November, 1641; drawn up from the dispatches of the Lords Justices to the Lord Deputy, who was then in England.

† Conally's (Conelles) discovery arose from some accidental conversation, in a tavern, with Hugh Macmahon, grandson to the "Great Earl of Tyrone," on the night before the intended seizure of Dublin Castle by the conspirators, and which was to have been followed by a general attempt upon all the fortresses in Ireland. Burton says that

Jo. Clotworthies) for making y^e^ first discovery of y^e^ Rebellion, & for some services donne against it, shalbe rewarded by y^e^ P'liam^t^ w^th^ y^e^ gift of 500^li^ presently, & be recommended to yo^r^ Ma^tie^ for a penc'on of 200^l^. There is a Com'ittee of y^e^ Peers appointed to peruse all l^trs^ that are come out of Irland, to consider of y^e^ p^esent state of Irland, & to further examyne Owen Conelles touching that Rebellion upon interrogatories to be exhibited by y^e^ Comons, who are to be p^esent at y^e^ examinac'on,* & y^e^ same Comittee is further to consider of y^e^

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both the gift and the annuity were voted to him by the Parliament, on the recommendation of the Lords Justices. He was also recommended to preferment. His master, Clotworthy, in 1640, was the seconder of Pym's first motion against the Earl of Strafford; he was also one of the great supporters of the self-denying Ordinance, yet he was loudly charged by the Army with defrauding the public purse of £40,000.

* It would be superfluous in this place to enter into all the charges against the King, as the instigator of the Irish Rebellion; but their general futility cannot be better evinced than in a charge brought forward by one of his bitterest enemies: "I know he obliterated with his own hands the word Irish *Rebells*, and put in Irish *subjects*, in a manuscript discourse, writ by Sir Edward Walker," &c. The same writer accuses him of being so "tender hearted of the Irish, as not to suffer above fourty proclamations to issue out against the rebells in Ireland." — Grebner's Astrology, p. 105.

May, in his History of the Parliament, p. 89, nearly repeats the same story, but says that the King ordered that no more than forty copies of the Proclamation should be issued.

Recusants in Engl: that are of estate & quallity & not convicted: the Lo. Lieut^{t} of Irland is desired by y^{e} Parliam^{t} (as I heare) to get together some Cap^{ts} and Off^{ers} here of Englishe to send over forthwth into Irland, & his Lo^{p} himself is pressed to hasten over wth all possible dilligence. This day father Phelipps (one of y^{e} Queenes priestes) was com'itted by y^{e} Lo^{ds} of Parliam^{t} for refusing to be sworne vpon y^{e} Bible, saying it was a false translac'on.* There is to be too morrow a conference between y^{e} 2 Houses, vpon severall heads; 1. touching y^{e} dissolving of y^{e} Covent of Capuchins; 2. about y^{e} list of y^{e} Queenes priests; 3^{ly}. about a list of y^{e} Princes servaunts, to y^{e} end that such as are suspected in religion or otherwise may be removed; 4^{ly}. about y^{e} governm^{t} of y^{e} Isle of Weight, that y^{e} same may be sequestred.† If y^{e} Houses of Parliament were full it is

* On the preceding day several resolutions had passed the Commons respecting the Capuchin House in the Strand; and ordering that the Foreign Ambassadors should be sent to, to deliver up such priests as were the King's subjects, then in their houses. Phillips was brought before the House as an evidence, upon the business of Benson, the member for Knaresborough, selling protections; and first refused the oath on pretence that it was too general, and might criminate himself: and when the Bible was brought, he said, "that the Bible used by them was not a true Bible, and therefore his oath would not bind him." His committal, after repeating this, was on the principle that the words were used without any occasion given, to the scandal of the Protestant religion, and in the face of Parliament.

† The Parliament, soon after, removed the Earl of Portland from the government of the island, and appointed the Earl of Pembroke in his stead.

conceaved it would be much for ye advantage of yor Matie, & ye good of the kingdome, & therefore I humbly offer it to yor Maties considerac'on, whether it may not be fitt for yor Matie to write to my Lo: Keeper to cause a proclamac'on to be forthwth issued to require all ye members of both Houses respectively (all excuses set apart) to attend ye Parliamt in person to consider of such affaires as concerne ye peace & good of this kingdome & other yor Maties dominions.

I beliue that I haue done this in a former dispach, but in all euents I co'-mand you to reiterate to the Keeper, in my name.

Wee hope now shortly to heare of yor Maties speedy & certeyne returne from Scotland, & that it may be wth honr & safety shalbe ye dayly prayers of,

Yor sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Edw. Nicholas.

The Com'ons are peparing a declarac'on of ye state of ye kingdome, as it was when they first met in Parliamt.

Westminster, 2o Nobris, 1641.

Eden. 9.

"For yor sacred Matie."

"Yours apostyled."

Apost. 9o 9bris.—Recd 15o 9bris by Mr. Arth: Berkley.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

By my letr of ye 2d of this moneth I advertised yor Matie of ye arrivall of Mr. Wm Murrey, & since he brings no certeyne news when yor Matie intends to be here, but in generall that it wilbe shortly, I thought it my duty to put yor Matie in minde, that ye Lo. Mayor & Cittizens here doe much desire to have tymely notice what day yor Matie will come to this towne, that they

By my last I bade you expect mee on the 20: yet now I fynde that it will be the 24 before I can cum, but bee asseured that I shall differ no longer, for by the grace of God, I shall

sett out from hence on the 18: without faile: & for warning my Lo. Maior, take directions from my Wyfe, when to doe it, for though she knowes when I shall meete her, yet I haue left to her the choice of the place, & when I shall cum to London.

may have ye honor to waite on yor Matie. There came l'trs yesterday from Irland wch confirme ye newes of ye Rebellion there, & say that the Rebells are come wthin 20 miles of Dublin, & are very cruell to ye Englishe Protestants, and have donne much mischeif alreddy in ye country:—There is order here for sending psently 2000 foote & 500 horse from hence into Irland: and Sr Ja. Ashley,* & Seriant Maior Merrick and other Officers are forthwth to goe away for that kingdome. The hast of this bearer, (who came even now to me from ye Queene for a post warrant) will not give me tyme to write more to yor Matie att psent, but that I assure yor Matie yor presence here is now extreame necessary,† as well for yor affaires here, as in Irland: & I beseech God to send yor Matie a speedy & safe returne, wch none desires more then

Yor Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Edw. Nicholas.

Wesminster, 3o Nobris 1641, att 9. at night.

Eden. 9.

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* Sir Jacob Astley was Serjeant Major General of the King's Army-royal; he distinguished himself much during the Civil Wars, and was created Lord Astley of Reading. Merrick was afterwards knighted by the King; yet he joined the Parliament forces, was made Serjeant Major General by the Earl of Essex, and afterwards, at the siege of Reading, was appointed General of the Ordnance, being superseded in his former office by the famous Skippon, by order of the Parliament.

† It is a curious fact that the leading party in the House of Commons were as anxious for the King's coming back, as his friends could be; for on this day it was ordered by the House that a letter should be sent to the King, pressing his return.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Mat^ie,

I wrote to yo'r Mat^ie a few lynes yesterday by an expresse sent by y^e Queene, & this morning I receaved yo^r Mat^ies com'aunds by apostile of ye 30^th of 8^ber. I have herewith sent yo^r Mat^ie a let^r from my Lo. Keeper (& to Mr. Th'rer a Bill) for new Sheriffs for this next yeare, that yo^r Mat^ie may be pleased to prick them there if you soe thinke fitt; My Lo. Keeper desir'd me w^thall to send to yo^r Mat^ie y^e informac'on inclos'd, w^ch his Lo^p receaved (for sparing of some vpon that Bill) since y^e same was made vp, that yo^r Mat^ie may be pleased to take them into considerac'on.

The Keeper will fynd by this inclosed to him that I meane not to pricke the Bill of Sherifs vntill my cuming home, so that for the present there is no needе of his information.

The Lo^dds of yo^r Mat^ies Privy Councell here have heard read all y^e exa'iac'cons concerning Mar: Hamiltons, and y^e Earles of Arguile & Lannerick absenting themselves, & since they receaved noe direcc'ons to com'unicate those exa'iac'cons to any other then to yo^r Privy Councell, they thinke not fitt to publishe y^e same, otherwise then by declaring (to such as they shall have occasion to speake w^th about that business), that they finde nothing in all those exa'iac'ons, that in any sorte reflects vpon yo^r Mat^ies hono^r. The exa'iac'ons themselves are by their Lo^ps left in my hands vnsealed, that any of y^e Lo^ds of yo^r Privy Counsell may see & reade them, but I am to give noe coppies of y^e same, & y^e Lo^dds willed me to signify to Mr. Th'rer, that if yo^r Mat^ie please that there shalbe any further publication thereof, they expect further direcc'ons therein. I have com'unicated to y^e Lo^dds, & given them coppies of Mar: Hamiltons 3^d let^r to yo^r Mat^ie, w^ch doth give great satis-

They needе to doe no more, but as they haue & resolue to doe.

There needе no more.

facc'on here to all men, that nothing in that vnhappy business doth in ye least manner reflect on yor Maties honor.

The Parliamt* here takes to hart ye Rebellion in Irland, & hath expressed a great affec'con to yor Maties service in that partic'lar. They have resolved (as my Lo. Keeper desired me to signify to yor Matie) to send thither 6000 foote & 2000 horse; whereof 2000 foote & 500 horse presently; & they are borrowing of ye Citty 50 m. l., wch they hope wilbe sent, & in confidence, that they shall have ye same to supply other paymts, they are now sending away 20 m. l., wch they have reddy in cashe, & was designed for other affaires. My Lo. Keeper saith he hath sent yor Matie l'trs touching ye Irishe Rebellion to the Com'ittee of both Houses appointed to consider of & take care for all things that concerne that business, and will himself speedily give yor Matie an accompt of yor Maties comaunds, wch he receaved this day in ye packet of ye 30th of 8ber. I assure yor Matie I find that it is noe easie matter in these mallevolent tymes, for an honnest man (that hath any thing to doe in affaires) to pserve himself & his reputac'on: but I hope yor Matie will protect yor faithfull

I shall not faile to protect you according to my Power, & (according to the owld Englishe compliment) I would it were better for your sake.

* Bulstrode, alluding to this Parliament, afterwards called the Long Parliament, observes that it was convened to meet on the 3d November 1641, "a most ominous day! for the Parliament met that day, in 20 Hen. VIII. which began with the fall of Cardinal Wolsey." Indeed the superstition of men's minds, at that period, seems to have both hastened and aggravated the political confusion: but the date is wrong; it ought to have been 1640.

servaunts, that shall wth integrity & dilligence endeavour to serve you, as will ever

Yor sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Edward Nicholas.

There is an Act passing for pressing of soldiours for Irland, wch hath bene twice read, and is now in ye Comittees hands.

Westminster 4o Nobris 1641.

Eden: 9.

"For yor sacred Matie."

"Yours apostyled."

Apost. 9o 9bris.—Recd 15o November by Mr. Arthur Berkley.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

I wrote to yor Matie by packet ye 4th of this Nober, & this now is to convey ye inclosed from my Lo. Keeper: I hope it will meete yor Matie on ye way, for that I heare it said, that yor Matie will set forth on Munday next, but because I am not certeyne of it, I haue directed this packet to Mr. Thr'er, wch otherwise I should haue addressed (according to yor Maties com'aund) to my Lod Duke.* If yor Matie doe not hasten hither, I doubt ye pparations for Irland will goe on but slowly,† & soe may come too late to pvent great mischiefs there, notwthstanding

* Duke of Richmond.

† Yet the Parliament seems to have been very busy upon this subject; for not only was there a Declaration framed on the 4th, but letters were also sent to the Lords Justices, pressing the most energetic measures of defence.

ye care of our Parliamt. Here are besides (I assure yor Matie) other affaires that highly import yor Maties hast hither: If yor Matie please to give leave to my Lo. Mayor & ye Cittizens here to wayte on you into this towne, I beseech yor Matie to com'aund that timely notice may be given of ye day, that they may provide for it, for ye best of ye Cittizens expresse a great desire to shew their affec'on therein to yor Matie, wch I humbly conceave it will not be convenient to declyne.

I onlie now repeate what in a former I sayd, that you receaue order from my Wyfe for this, what day it shall be; with this addition, that you direct my Lord Chamberlaine * (I meane Essex) to wait on my Wyfe, who will giue him directions what Howses he shall prepare for my vse against my returne.

I humbly pray for yor Maties happy and speedy returne, as being

Yor sacred Maties
Most humble & obedient servaunt,
Edw. Nicholas.

Westminster, 6o Nobris 1641.
Eden: 13:

Written on the reverse of the last Letter.

Since I wrote the other letter to yor Matie, happening wth ye opportunity of this messenger (who I hope will deliver my letr safe to yor Royall hands), I thought it my duty to make this addic'on to my former letr, that yesterday in ye Comons House, it was moved to send instruc'cons to ye Englishe Com'ittees, to let yor Matie know, that ye Parliamt here finds that ill councells have bene ye cause of all these troubles in Irland, and that vnlesse yor Matie wilbe pleased to discharge ye ill Councellors that are about you & to take such as ye kingdome can confide in, the Parliamt doth hold itself absolv'd from giving

* It is difficult to ascertain why the King expresses himself thus. Essex possessed this office until 1642, when he was superseded by Edward, Earl of Dorset.

assistance for ye busines in Irland: Some that found fault wth this expression were chequed, but there was noe p'fect resoluc'on in this, but ye further considerac'on thereof was put off to a further day.*

I write this that yor Matie may see how extreamely necessary it is for you to hasten hither. I beseech yor Matie to keep to yorself this addic'on, & to burne this letr, wch is now sent you from

Yr sacred Maties
Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
Edw. Nicholas.

Westminster 6o Nobris 1641,
att 12 a clock at noone.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor móst excellent Matie,

Since myne of ye 6th pcsent sent by Mr. Greene a servant of ye D: of Richmonds, I receaved ye same night here at Oatlands yor Maties apostile of ye 2d, and have sent yor Maties l're to ye Bpp of London together wth ye Bills signed for ye new Bpps. I shall carefully p'forme all yor Maties com'aunds by yor last, & render yor Matie

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* This is a very curious fact, illustrative of the private history of that time. It is not stated in the Parliamentary History, nor in the usual records for historical research. It is remarkable that Sir E. N. does not take any notice of the apology sent to the Lords on this day by the Queen, excusing Father Phillips, and praying forgiveness for him, "if it shall appear unto you that he hath not maliciously done any thing against the State, if, for my sake, you will pass by this present offence," &c. The Lords would have admitted him to bail, but the Commons refused.

a speedy account of y^e^ same. My Lo: Keeper sent me this evening this let^r^ to be conveyed to yo^r^ Ma^tie^ w^th^ all dilligence, w^ch^ is y^e^ principall cause of this dispatch. I beseech yo^r^ Ma^tie^ to be pleased to burne or returne to me all my lett^rs^, for I perceave by y^e^ strict enquiry after the writer of Mr. Webbs let^r^, that there is a vigilant & prying eye after all that is written hence, & I would not willingly, that y^e^ lyons should be made iudges of my eares. Wee hope yo^r^ Ma^tie^ will set forth for these partes too morrow senight at farthest. I can say noe more to move yo^r^ Ma^tie^ to hasten hither then hath bene advertised. I pray God to send yo^r^ Ma^tie^ a speedy and safe returne. I am confident yo^r^ Ma^tie^ was never more welcome to y^e^ better sorte of Londoners than you will now be, & I beleeve y^e^ whole kingdome will reioyce to heare of yo^r^ Ma^ties^ happy returne, w^ch^ wilbe y^e^ best newes that hath this yeare come to y^e^ eares of

I returne this onlie to show you that I am carefull to doe what you desyre.

Yo^r^ sacred Ma^ties^
Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
Edw. Nicholas.

Oatlands, 7^o^ No^bris^ 1641.
Eden. 13.

The Queen to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Maistre Nicholas havinge reseaued a leter from London to nitgh (night): that there is many of the Lords that ar gone of in the contree, and that the ar a fraid the shall want some for the bussinesse of the bishops: having heard that Carnaruen* is in is owne hous some

* Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon; slain in 1643 at the battle of Newbury. His Countess was niece to Sir Richard

twentie milles of I belive very fit you should writt to him from the King to have him come to London for that time this bearer will cary your letter to him and having nothing to say more I rest,

Your assured friend

Henriette Marie R.

" For Maistre Nicholas."

R. 8o Nobris 1641. The Queene to me.

This Letter, and the following ones up to the 10th of November, serve to fill up an hiatus in the Parliamentary History of this period.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

Yesterday I sent yor Matie a l'tr from my Lo. Keeper by packet addressed to Mr. Th'rer. This day the Com'ons House considered of ye heads of ye instrucc'ons to be sent to ye Englishe Com'ittees, & after a long debate, they voted ye same in ye House, wch was thereupon divided, & there were (as I heare) 110. votes against, & 151. for those instrucc'ons, amongst wch there is one head to ye effect, (but a little quallified,) of what I wrote in my postscript by Mr. Greene. Those in-

You must see to cross this in the Lords House if it be possible.

Browne, as it is stated in Bromley's Royal Letters; but how does not appear, for she was daughter of the Earl of Pembroke. When this nobleman was expiring in the field, he was asked if he had any suit to the King? He replied, that " he would not die with a suit in his mouth, to any King, but the King of Heaven!"

strucc'ons (I am tould) are to be transmitted to ye Lords.

By the grace of God those will prove false Prophets.

It is here reported by those who have ye speediest & certeynest advertisemts from Edinburg, that yor Matie will not be here till Christmas: what reason they have for it I know not. The warrts for ye new Bps are passing as fast as may be: I this day put ye Signet to those for Yorke & Lincolne.*

I have signifyed yor Maties pleasure to my Lo: Keeper to issue a Proclamac'on that all Parliamt men attend in P'liamt, but his Lopp saith a Proclamac'on must issue in ye ordinary way, and be first signed by yor Matie, wherefore I have by his Lops advise this day sent a warrt accordingly to yor Maties Attorney, to pepare such a Proclamac'on for yor Maties signature, wch as soone as I can get from him shalbe speedily sent to yor Matie. The Ea. of Southton† hath bene in Northtonsh: this senight, but wilbe here Wensday next, when I shall not fayle to acquaint his Lop wth what yor Matie hath comaunded me. I heare there was this afternoone brought into ye Com'ons House, and there read, a Declarac'on of ye state of ye affaires of this kingdome, wch relates all ye misgovernment and vnpleasing things that have bene donne by ill Counsells (as they call it) since 3o of yor Maties raigne to this pesent, and it reflects soe much to ye peiudice of yor Maties government, as if yor Matie come not instantly away, I trouble to thinke what wilbe ye issue of it: for surely if there had bene in this nothing but an intenc'on to have iustefyed the proceedings of

You must needs speake with such of my servants that you may best trust, in my name, that by all meanes possible this may bee stoped.

* These appointments did not take place.

† Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton. He died in 1667, without issue.

this P'liam^t^, they would not have begun soe high as 3^o^. The further considerac'on of this Declarac'on is to be had too morrow in y^e^ House of Com'ons. If yo^r^ Ma^tie^ shall not be pleased to keepe to yo^r^self what I have written, and to burne this let^r^, I may be lost. Yo^r^ Ma^tie^ cannot so much p^e^iudice yo^r^self, (if you come away & leave all things there vnfinished,) as you may now by delaying yo^r^ Ma^ties^ returne one day: I pray God there be not a designe to deteyne you there against the wishes & advise of all yo^r^ best servaunts here: God send yo^r^ Ma^tie^ a safe & speedy returne, so prayeth alwayes

I shall most carefully.

Yo^r^ sacred Ma^ties^
Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden. 13.
Westminster, 8. No^bris^ 1641.

"For yo^r^ sacred Ma^tie^."
"Yours apostyled."
8^o^ No^bris^ 1641. Apost. 13^o^. 9^bris^. Rec. 18. 9^bris^.
Sent by Sir H. Hungate.*

The QUEEN to SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Maister Nicholas, I am vere sory that my lettre did not come time enouf to go. I haue reseaued yours, and I haue writt to the King to hasten is coming. I send

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* Sir Philip Hungate, of Saxton, in Yorkshire, was the first Baronet, so created by Charles the First. No name of Henry appears in the Baronetage; therefore the person alluded to must have been one of the numerous Knights Bachelors of that reign.

you the letter and if little Will Murray is well enouf I vould haue him go backe againe: to scotland without comin yer for a would haue him go to marow morning: tel him from me: but if he wher not well then you must prouide some bodie that will be sure for my letter must not be lost: and I vould not trusted to and ordinaire poste: I am so ill prouided whitt personnes that I dare truste that at this instant I haue no living creature that I dare send: pray doe whatt you can to helpe me if little Vill Murray can not go to send this letter, and so I rest,

Your assured friend,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

"For your selfe."

R. 10o Nobris 1641. The Q: that I should send an expr: Mer w: her letr.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

My last was by Sr Hen: Hungate, wch I hope will come safe to yor Royall hands; & I now send this expresse by ye Queene's com'aund to convey her Maties l'tr, for her Matie saith she hath alreddy sent all those she can trust, wth expresses to yor Matie; Wee hope that some of them will shortly bring ye much desired newes of yor Maties returne.

I have spoken wth ye Bp of Lincolne about yor Maties pardon of ye 13 Bps for ye Premunire, & his Lop saith he wisheth that ye pardon to them may be generall for all things else aswell as for ye Premunire, whereof his Lop will consider better, & then I shall give yor Matie a further accompt of that partic'lar. My Lo. Keeper tells me that there are many precedents, that ye Peers in

With all my hart.

P'liam't have chosen their owne Speaker, & that vntill y^e^ Lo. Burleighes later tyme, there is scarce any Record, that y^e^ King hath by l'tr^s^ pattents appointed a Speaker for that House. Yor Mat^ie^ (I beleeve) hath heard that both Houses of Parliam^t^ made an Ordinance Satterday last, that y^e^ Lo. Lieutenant of Irland shall forthw^th^ rayse Volontiers here in Engl. to be transported for suppressing y^e^ Rebellion in Irland: yesterday his Lopp acquainting some Parliam^t^ men, that he doubted whether he might rayse men w^thout^ warr^t^ vnder y^e^ Great Seale, his Lop^s^ doubt was made knowne in y^e^ Com'ons House, and thereupon it was in that House declared, that an Ordinance of both Houses was a sufficyent warr^t^ for his Lop^s^ levying of Volontiers by beating of the drum &c. & an entry of such their Declarac'on was accordingly made in the Register of that House. I heare that it is written from Irland, that y^e^ Rebells there giue forth, that they expect yo^r^ Mat^ie^ every day att Don Luce,* w^ch^ is a calumny raysed by them much to yo^r^ Mat^ies^ dishonor & disadvantage, only to iustify their Rebellion, & were fitt to be vindicated. The Declarac'on remo'-strating y^e^ effects of yo^r^ Mat^ies^ ill Councells, was yesterday by y^e^ Com'ons House taken againe into considerac'on, & a 4^th^ parte thereof gonne thorrow w^thall^ & voted there, & y^e^ rest of it wilbe passed there, as fast as may be, & then it is to be transmitted to y^e^ Lo^dds^. There was yesterday a considerac'on in y^e^ Upper House concerning excluding y^e^ Papists Lo^des^, & after a long debate that business was let fall, only there was an Order made that

Com'and the Keeper in my name that he warne all my seruants to oppose it in the Lords House.

* Dunluce Castle, near the Giant's Causeway, in the county of Antrim, the seat of the Earls of Antrim; but now in ruins.

ye lawes against Recusauts should forthwth be put in execuc'on. Mr. Attorney* (according yor Maties pleasure signified to him) hath drawne a Proclamac'on, to comaund all Parliamt men to attend in Parliamt, & having shewed it to my Lo. Keeper, his Lop (as Mr. Attorney tells me) likes ye draught, but saith he conceaveth it not fitt to issue any such Proclamac'on, & that he will shortly satisfie yor Matie therein. I beseech God to send yor Matie a speedy & happy returne, wherein all yor Maties best servaunts here ioin in prayer wth

This bearer will fully satisfie you in that.

Yor sacred Maties
Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
Edw. Nicholas.

The cause concerning ye 13 Bps, and the Bill touching Bpps, is to be considered of, Friday next.

Westminster: 10o Nobris 1641, at 12: at noone.

Eden: 15.

"For yor sacred Matie."

"Yours apostyled."

10: 9bris 1641. Apost. 15o. Ret. by Sir H. Hungate, 20o at one o'clock afternoone.

This was sent by Smith the Messenger.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

By the Queenes com'aund I sent yesterday one Smith expressly wth her Maties ler, wch I hope he will pesent safe, & wth dilligence to your Royall hands. Wensday

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* Sir Edward Herbert, Knt.

last there was a very greate debate in ye Lodes House, touching instrucc'ons pepared by ye Com'ons to be sent to ye Englishe Com'ittees att Edenburg; six of those instrucc'ons concerne ye Rebellion in Irland, wch ye Lodes passed & approoved of, the 7th was concerning ill Councellors & Councells,* wch held a very long debate, wherein I may not forbeare to advertise yor Matie: that ye Ea: of Bristoll & his sonne ye (Lo: Digby) did argue wth soe much reason † & iudgem't, as they got ye 7th instrucc'on to be fairely laid aside, & yesterday att a conference of both Houses, the Lodes tould ye Com'ons, that they agreed to 6 of ye said instrucc'ons, but ye seventh was of soe great consequence, as they thought fit to leave it to a further tyme: Yor Matie may be pleased to take notice

Thanke them from me.

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* Mr. Prynne undertook to enlighten the Lords upon the subject of Evil Counsells. His reasoning was founded upon the anatomy of the human body. He also prophesied great advantages from a change, particularly if the King should not be permitted to select any servants except those approved by Parliament. Vide Parliamentary History, vol. X. p. 33 et seq.

† Yet Lord Digby had been an active enemy of Lord Strafford; but in a speech made to the House of Commons on the 21st of April, 1641, he recanted his former opinions respecting that Earl, so far as to refuse his signature to an official document, even whilst describing Strafford as "a dangerous and insupportable minister to free subjects." The whole speech is a most curious specimen of special pleading! His apparent objects, however, were to preserve his own consistency, and yet to save Lord Strafford's life; his speech closing with a solemn protestation against any sentence of death: "and I do, with a clear conscience, wash my hands of this man's blood."

By the grace of God I will doe it shortlie myselfe.

of ye singular good service that was in that busines donne by those 2 noblemen, & especially by the sonne, who (I heare) did beyond admirac'on.

My Lo: Keeper & Mr. Attor: Gen'rall have deferred the issuing of ye Proclamac'on to require all Parliamentmens attendaunce, as conceaving it to be vnseasonable att this tyme, & my Lo: Keeper hath promised that he will give yor Matie satisfacc'on therein.

It is a poore one.

I have herewth sent yor Matie a speech published here in the name of Mar: Hamilton, that yor Matie may see what artifice is here vsed by his friends to insinuate into ye people a good opinion of his Lops piety and integrity. The House of Com'ons was yesterday soe imployed about Irishe affaires, as they meddled not wth their Declarac'on, remonstrating ye ill effects of bad Councells. It is advertised out of Irland that ye rebels are 30. thousand strong, in severall places of that kingdome, & that they approche towards Tredaw, * for defence whereof, ye Lods Justices have sent1000 foote, and 2 troopes of horse: if ye rebells shall defeate those forces, it is thought they wilbe soone for Dublin. The Lods Justices write, that vnlesse there be psently sent over 10,000 men, & 100 ml. in monny, that kingdom wilbe lost: whereupon ye Parliamt hath ordered to increase ye 6,000 foote (formerly directed to be raised) to 10,000: & they intend forthwth to passe an Act for raysing of 200 ml for the service of Irland: And where they formerly desired to have only 1000 Scots, now they will desire to have 10,000 Scots to be sent into Irland in such numbers as ye Parliamt shall give direcc'ons.

Yor Matie may by these relac'ons perceave of what extreame necessity & importaunce yor Maties speedy re-

* Tredagh—the Irish name for Drogheda.

turne is, wch I beseech yor Matie by all meanes to hasten, for notwthstanding all the discourses in Parliamt, I see nothing put into acc'on. That yor Matie may have a speedy, safe, & honble returne shalbe ever ye earnest prayers of

Yor Maties
Most humble and most obedient servaunt,
Edw. Nicholas.

The last night att 10. a clock, after I had closed this letr, I receaved by Mr. Tho: Killegrew yor Maties comands by 2 apostiles, & am now going to Oatlands wth yor Maties letr to ye Queene, having sent that to my Lo: Keeper: I shalbe carefull to p'forme what yor Matie by that dispatch hath comaunded me. All honnest men will reioyce at ye welcome newes of yor Maties returne.

Westminster, 12o Nobris, 1641.

Eden. 18.

"For yor sacred Matie."

"Yours apostyled."

12o Nobris. Apost. 18o. Ret: by Mr. Proger * 22o at 9. morning.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

I sent a letr this morning to yor Matie by Mr. Jo: Digby,† since my wrighting whereof I receaved yor

He cam yesterday.

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* Some notice of this Mr. Proger may be seen in "Les Memoires de Grammont," where he is spoken of as about the person of Charles the Second, and said to be "confident de ses menues plaisirs."

† Son to the Earl of Bristol.

Maties by Mr. Killegrew, & shall carefully obey yor Maties comaunds. This is only to conuey to yor Royall hands a Pardon for ye 13 Bpps,* pepared by ye Bp of Lincolne, who (it seemes) thought not fitt to trust any of yor Maties learned Councell wth ye drawing of it; his Lop sent me word that I should hasten it to yor Matie (albeit you might be on yor way home) as I tendred ye good of yor Maties service, wch made me send it now, notwthstanding my owne humble opinion is, that since ye hearing of ye busines against these 13 Bpps was appointed to be this day, & in all likelihoode will not be put off to a day much farther, that it were better to deferre ye passing of this Pardon till it shalbe seene what wilbe determyned concerning them, for if they shalbe sentenced by ye Parliamt, this pardon coming afterwards, and not menc'oning their being sentenced, will not be sufficyent, & if they shalbe quitted it wilbe needlesse; Nay if it shall not be kept very secreat, it may be to their peiudice; but yor Matie com'aunding me in this busines to pursue ye direcc'ons of that able & experienced Bpp, I held it my duty to obey wthout disputing: If yor Matie shall thinke fitt to passe this pardon att this tyme, you may be pleased to signe it, as well on ye back, that it may passe by imediat warrt as on ye fore part of it, & to send it sealed up, wth an expresse com'aund to my Lo. Keeper to seale, who will otherwise I beleeve make some scruple to put ye Great Seale to it.

The returning of w'ch is the onlie cause of apostyiing this.

But if [it] bee dated before (& therefor I haue not filled the eate) I suppose it may doe some good.

So I haue.

Doe you that in my name.

* In a subsequent letter, Sir E. N. again refers to the case of the Bishops, and to the fact of their demurring to the impeachment before the Lords, with the exception of Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, who pleaded "Not Guilty." This was notified to the Commons by a message from the Lords on the 12th.

Yor Maties of ye 6th of this moneth giues me good hope that this packet will meete yor Matie on ye way, & therefore I have addressed it (as yor Matie comanded) to ye D. of Richmonde. God of his mercy pserve & protect yor Matie, & send you a safe and happy returne, wch is ye prayer of all yor Maties best affected servaunts, as well as of

Yor Maties
Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
Edw. Nicholas.

As I was closing this letr my Lo: of Bristoll sent me word that his sonne Mr. Jo: Digby goes not for Scotland, and therefore I have sent that letr wth this to yor Matie.

Westminster, 12o Nobris 1641.
Eden: 17:

The Queen to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Maistre Nicholas, I have receaued your lettre. I am sory you ar not well for I would haue ben glad to speake to you but it is of no haste therefore donat hastend your selfe for feare of being sick; I send you a lettre for Milord Keeper that the King ded send to me to deliuer it if I though it fit. the subject of it is to make a Derclaration against the ordres of Parliamant which ar made withouct the King. If you beleue a fit time giue it him if not you may keepet till I see you.

the King will bee here sertaineleye the 20 of this monthe therefore you may aduertice the Maior of London. Your lettre that you did writt to Carnaruen is comme bak to mee and I burnt it. he was not at is

hows it should be vere nessessairie that you should inquaire where (he) is and writt to him and send to milord Cotinton for is proxies for I heer he as to (two) and is owne. and send to milord Southampton and Dunsemoure * to send their proxies till the comme them selues; the are in Warwicshier. hauing no more to say I reste this 12 Novembre

Your assured frend

Henriette Marie R.

"For your selfe."

12o Nobris 1641. The Queene to me.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

This is ye first day since my falling sick, that I have bene able to sit vp to write: & albeit I shall doe it wth some difficulty, yet my duty will not suffer me to forbeare any longer to give yor Matie an accompt, that by Mr. Barkley I receaved on Sunday night last yor Maties comaunds in 3 apostiles dated ye 9th of this moneth: All wch I have alreddy p'form'd, excepting that concerning giving notice to my Lord Mayor of ye day of yor Maties entring into London, whereof (I beleeve) I shall this afternoone have certeynty from the Queene.

Herewth yor Matie will receave a proclamac'on for ye attendance of ye Parliamt men, wch my Lo: Keeper & Mr. Attorney conceaved would have bene better to have bene forborne to be published till yor Maties returne,

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* Francis Leigh, Lord Dunsmore; afterwards Earl of Chichester.

wch is now so neere in expectac'on. The House of Com'ons hastens by all meanes ye finishing of ye Declarac'on or Remonstrance, & for ye more speedy expediting of it, they have att ye Com'ittee passed by many p'ticlars to avoide ye delay of long debate.

The order of ye House of Com'ons for ye number of Scots to be sent into Irland, was altered from 1000. to 5000. vpon Saturday last in ye afternoone, & thoughe (wee heare) that ye imploymt of soe many Scots wilbe very acceptable to that nac'on, yet it is here apprehended by wise men, that ye same will exasperate ye Irishe, & make them buckle more resolutely to a warre of rebellion, then otherwise they would doe. Since ye plot in delivering to Mr. Pym * a letr wth a plaster and a threatening in it, there was on Munday last in ye evening,

* The "History of the King-Killers" says of Pym, that "he was a rank Puritan, and the more dangerous, because he would outwardly appear zealous for the Church of England. Thus, like a subtle rebel, he was a great pretender to religion and reformation, ever finding faults, and inveighing against such as he called innovations and corruptions; yet with such counterfeit shews of respect as made him the more regarded, and his words the more pernicious." When the riots of the London Apprentices took place, soon after this date, the Lords sent a message to the Commons demanding their concurrence in appeasing the tumult,a nd punishing the authors of it; but Pym opposed the measure, exclaiming, "God forbid that we should stifle the voice of liberty, and oppose the just desires of the people!" A pamphlet of that period, alluding to the plot, is entitled "A damnable treeson by a contagious plaster of a plague sore, sent to Mr. Pym," &c.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

another as desperate and dangerous a conspiracy against him, & diverse members of both Houses, discovered by a poore zealous taylor, who, being in y^e^ fields mending y^e^ notes he had taken of a sermon, there happened to come (as he relates it) 2. souldier-like men, soe neere him, as he overheard them telling each other, how many of their acquaintance were to be forthw^th^ imployed to murther diverse members both of y^e^ Upper and Lower House, & this taylor* had y^e^ oportunity to take from those 2. mens mouthes y^e^ names both of y^e^ murtherers, & of y^e^ p'sons to be murthered: the reward to him that kil'd a member of y^e^ Lower House was to be 40*s.* & to him that murthered one of y^e^ Upper House £10. This discovery makes a great noyse in & about y^e^ Parliam^t^ House, & (however many wise men give no creddit at all to it, yet) it hath produced severall orders for securing of y^e^ Parliam^t^, & Parliament-men, the coppies of some of w^ch^ I have here inclosed sent yo^r^ Ma^tie^. The order of y^e^ 16^th^ p'sent,† w^ch^ requires that y^e^ rigour of y^e^ law be put in excuc'on against all Papists, that shalbe founde in London or Westminster after this night, is not (I heare) thought by some of y^e^ Com'ons to be severe enoughe, soe as it is conceaved there wilbe some more sharpnes added to that order this day: all y^e^ Papists Lo^des^ are alreddy removing out of this Towne vpon this order. ffriday last (w^ch^ was y^e^ first day of my falling

* His name was Beale. In fact the House could procure no further intelligence upon the subject; and it seems to have been either a piece of folly, or of roguery, on the part of the informer.

† Not recorded in the Parliamentary History.

into extremity) the Venetian Amb'dor complained att y^e^ Councell Boorde, that his l'rs had bene opened by y^e^ Com'ittees of Parliam^t^, & he was soe much incensed at it, as he there made his protest, & declared, that he would treate no further, & thereupon w^th^drew himselfe (as I heare) to Greenew^ch^, till such tyme as he shall advertise that Republique w^th^ that affront as he termed it. The agent of y^e^ D. of Florence is as highly distasted w^th^ some violence that hath been vsed in serching his house by some officers or warr^nt^ of Parliam^t^: these distasts given to those Ministers will (it is thought) light very heavy on yo^r^ Ma^ties^ su^bts^ trading [to] those partes, & will proove a very great p^e^iudice & interrupc'on to y^e^ trade of this yo^r^ Ma^ties^ kingdome.

I heare from a very good hand, that there are diverse principall gen^t^ of Hertfordsh: who are desirous to tender their duty to yo^r^ Ma^tie^ att Ware, & to wayte on you into that towne if yo^r^ Ma^tie^ shall make any stop there, & they will bring w^th^ them diverse of their neighbours & friends, who are desirous to shew how welcome yo^r^ Ma^ties^ returne is into that countrey, whereof I thought good to give yo^r^ Ma^tie^ this tymely notice, for that I humbly conceaue it would not be amisse for yo^r^ Ma^tie^ in these tymes to accept grac'ously y^e^ affecc'ons of yo^r^ su^b'ts^ in that kinde, whereby you will have opportunity to shew yourself grac'ous to yo^r^ people as yo^r^ Ma^tie^ passeth, & to speake a few good words to them, w^ch^ will gaine y^e^ aff'ons (especially of y^e^ vulgar) more then any thing that hath bene donne for them this Parliam^t^. This day y^e^ examinac'ons against O'Neale were read in y^e^ Com'ons House, wherein were menc'oned some l'rs & papers signed C. R., the effect of one of w^ch^ (sent to Capt:

Leg*) was (as I heare), that he should speake with Sr Ja: Ashley according to instrucc'ons wch he had from yor Matie, & let none see that letr but only Sr Ja: Ashley, who, together wth Sr Jo. Conyers† (as I am tould, but I beseech yor Matie to take noe notice thereof from me) have bene very large & partic'lar in their examinac'ons, wch (I heare) reflect vpon yor Maties person: it is thought that ye Parliamt will condempne O'Neale, but they are not yet resolved where or how to trye him: they doubte ye testimony against him will not be soe full, as in a legall way to condempne him at the King's Bench barre, & they resolve not (as yet) whether it wilbe fit to doe it by a Bill, according to their legislative power.

I have (as yor Matie com'anded) given wart to my Lo: Keeper to renew ye Com'ission of Lieutenn'cy for London, & to put in ye new Lo: Mayor, who is a very well affted servaunt of yor Maties.

There is a Com'ittee of both Houses appointed to pepare instrucc'ons for ye Lo: Lieutenant of Irland, wherewth they are now in hand. The 13 Bpps did demurre to ye busines agt them, but ye Com'ons have in their House overruled ye demurrer & voted that those Bps shall answere in cheif. I dispatched ye Bills for ye new Bps wth all expedic'on, & that busines is now in as good forwardnes as may be. I hope by that tyme yor Matie shall returne hither, to be able to goe abroade, in

* Captain Leg, otherwise Colonel; but better known as "honest Will Leg;" and ancestor of the Earls of Dartmouth.

† This Conyers was afterwards, in 1643, nominated by the Parliament to the Lieutenancy of the Tower, after their forcing the King to dismiss Sir John Byron from that situation.

y^e^ meane tyme, I will to y^e^ best of my strength & abillity p'forme y^e^ duty of

Yo^r^ sacred Mat^ies^

Most humble & obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 18: No^bris^ 1641.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^r^ most excellent Mat^ie^,

Yesterday I wrote to yo^r^ Mat^ie^, & addressed it by packet to y^e^ D. of Richmond, as yo^r^ Mat^ie^ co'manded me when you should be on yo^r^ returne: since that, I have receaved from y^e^ Queene 3 of my l'trs, all of them apostiled by yo^r^ Mat^ie^ y^e^ 13^th^ of this moneth, & I humbly acknowledge myself infinitely obliged to yo^r^ Mat^ie^ for yo^r^ grac'ous goodnes in returning and burning my l'trs. I shall carefully obey all yo^r^ Mat^ies^ com'aunds in those l'trs. I have herew^th^ sent for yo^r^ Mat^ies^ signature a draught for yo^r^ Royall assent for y^e^ B^pp^ of Lincolne* to be Arch^bp^ of Yorke: this was brought to me this day, & there is noe returne as yet made vpon y^e^ *Congé d'eslires* for any of y^e^ other B^pps^. I have herew^th^ alsoe sent yo^r^ Mat^ie^ a Bill conteyning a Com'ission to appoint y^e^ Ea. of Holland to be Lo: G'rall of all yo^r^ Mat^ies^ forces beyonde the Trent, w^ch^ com'ission yo^r^ Mat^ie^ gave order for, before yo^r^ iourney into Scotland, but it seemes by Mr. Attorney (who now brought me this by direcc'on

* John Williams, D. D. Dean of Westminster, and formerly Lord Keeper. To this draught the royal signature was given.

from ye Parliamt to be sent wth speede to yor Matie) that vpon ye mistake of some name in ye former draught it passed not ye Greate Seale: I tould Mr. Attorney I did beleeve yor Matie would not thinke fitt to signe it now before yor returne; but howsoever he wished me to send it away to yor Matie wth ye first, because he had promised soe much to ye Lodds in P'liamt: this is all I know of this busines, & yor Maties wisdome can best direct you what to doe in it.

The business against O'Neale is referred to a select Com'ittee to be pepared reddy for ye House against Munday next, & some thinke it wilbe hardly heard then, for albeit ye Com'ons haue a very good minde to proceede roundly against him, yet (I heare) ye proofes are soe broken, as they will not make a full & cleere evidence: the worst in all that busines is, that it reflects on yor Matie, as if you had giuen some instrucc'ons concerning ye stirring up ye army to peton ye Parliamt: I hope it will appeare that yor Maties intenc'ons were only to reteyne ye army in their duty & dependance on yor Matie. The House of Com'ons hath pressed ye Lodes very earnestly for removall of ye Ea: of Portland from his gov'ment of ye Isle of Weight, but ye Lodes yesterday, upon his Lops profession to liue & dye in ye Protestant religion, let fall that busines as by ye inclosed yor Matie will perceave. There hath bene nothing donne these 2. dayes by ye Com'ons touching ye Declarac'on remonstrating ye bad effects of ill councells, but it is thought that ye same wilbe finished this weeke: there are diverse well affted servants of yor Maties in that House, that oppose that remonstrance wth vnanswerable argumts, but it is veryly thought that it will passe not-

wthstanding,* & that it wilbe ordered to be printed wth-out transmission to ye Lodes. The Com'ons (I heare) haue intercepted some letrs that passed betweene Mr. Crofts† & ye Dutchess of Chevereux,‡ and gotten the key of their *caraches*, whereupon Mr. Crofts hath this

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* The motion was carried by 159 to 148, on the 22d of this month.

† Mr. Crofts and Mr. William Murray, already mentioned, were two of those whom the Committee of Parliament, sitting at Grocers' Hall, declared to be persons of vile character, and enemies to liberty; passing at the same time a resolution that the King should be called on to dismiss them from his service.

Crofts had married the aunt of the Earl of Warwick; and she had also been very active in Court intrigue previous to this; as appears by a reference to Bromley's Royal Letters, page 85.

‡ This Lady was at the Court of England for the first time, in 1638; and is mentioned by Pennant, in his Journey to the Isle of Wight, as having swam across the Thames, in a frolic, somewhere, as he supposes, in the vicinity of Windsor. He also records part of a Copy of Verses made on the occasion by a Sir J. M.§ whose opinion of the Lady's frigid chastity is laughed at by the Cambrian Antiquary. Sir J. exclaimed:

> "But her chaste breast, cold as the cloyster'd nun,
> Whose frost to chrystal might congeal the sun,
> So glaz'd the stream, that pilots, there afloat,
> Thought they might safely land without a boat;
> July had seen the Thames in ice involved,
> Had it not been by her own beams dissolved."

§ Probably Sir John Mennes, author of "Musarum Deliciæ, or the Muses' Recreation." 2nd edit. 12mo. 1656.

day bene exa'ied: as alsoe touching his soe frequent vissitting of Coll: Goring at Portsmouth, & ye Coll: is also come vp by com'and of ye Com'ons, & suspected, for that it hath bene informed, that he hath fortifyed that garrison to ye land, & put forth some ould souldiers & put in new; whereby yor Matie may see that euery small matter ministers feare here amongst us. I dare not as yet stirre out of my chamber, being still weake, but (if I shalbe able) I intend (God willing) to wayte on yor Matie at Theobalds on Wensday next, & in ye meane tyme I humbly rest

Yor sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Edw. Nicholas.

Westminster: 19o Nobris 1641.

"For yor sacred Matie."

The Queen to Sir E. Nicholas.

Maistre Nicholas, I did desire you not to acquainte mi lord of essex of what the King commanded you touching is commin: now you may doe it and tell him that the King will be at Tibols vendnesday and shall lye there and upond thursday he shall dine at my lord Maiors and lye at Whitthall onlye for one nitgh and upon friday will goe to hampton-court where he maenes to stay this vinter: the King commanded me to tell this to my lord of essex but you may doe it, for there Lords ships are to great prinses now to receaued anye

direction from mee: beeng all that I haue to say I shall rest

Your assured frand,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

"For Maistre Nicholas."

R: 20o Nobris 1641.

The Q: for me to signify to Lo: Chamb'lan.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

I receaved yor Maties com'aunds yesterday by Sr Hen: Hungate, * & this day by Mr. Proger, & shalbe carefull to observe ye same, as I hope I shalbe able on Wensday next to give yor Matie an accompt att Theobalds.

I have now againe receaved assuraunce, that (as I formerly acquainted yor Matie) ye Gent: & diverse of ye best of ye freeholders of Hertfordshire will wayte on yor Matie a myle before you come to Ware, & if yor Matie please to make a little stop in that towne, that ye better sorte may there kisse yor Royall hand, & ye rest be spoken to by yor Matie, it will give them very great contentmt. If yor Matie please to come softly from Ware, ye most of those will wayte on yor Matie as farre as Theobalds, & if yor Matie thinke not that convenyent, they will wayte on yor Matie only a mile or two out of Ware, & soe receave yor Maties grac'ous dismission. I am ye more dilligent to give yor Matie this advertisemt, because I know those gent: will not fayle in this manner to shew their affecc'ons & duty to you, & that county being soe neere a neighbour to London, it wilbe a good encou-

* See before, Letter 8th November, p. 92.

ragem^t & comfort to yo^r well affected people here, to vnderstand, that they have neighbours that have y^e like dutifull affecc'ons to yo^r Ma^ties person and governm^t, as these Cittizens here, who are constantly resolved to giue yo^r Ma^tie a magnificent recepc'on, notw^thstanding (I heare) there have bene some practises vnderhand to divert them from that their setled pu'pose.

By y^e Queenes direcc'ons I signifyed to my Lo: Chamb'layne on Satterday last, that yo^r Ma^tie intends to lye at Theobalds Wensday next, to dyne Thursday att y^e Guildhall, & that night to lye att Whitehall, & Friday to goe to Hampton Court. Coll. Goring gaue y^e House of Com'ons good satisfac'con Satterday last touching his fidellity & good affec'cons, and was thereupon dismissed:* The Com'ons have bene in debate about their Declarac'on touching y^e ill effects of bad councells euer since 12 at

* Goring, in some subsequent transactions, is accused of acting a double part with the King and Parliament. When the troubles broke out, Goring, as Governor of Portsmouth, declared for the King; but that town being unable to sustain a siege, was soon lost to the Royal Cause. Goring then went to France, as Bulstrode says, with the money he had received on both sides, without making good his promises to either." That Author adds that, "if his conscience and integrity had equalled his wit and courage, he had been one of the most eminent men of the age he lived in; but he could not resist temptations, and was a man without scruple, and loved no man so well, but he would cozen him, and afterwards laugh at him." Goring's high command in the Army, and subsequent rise to the Peerage, are supposed to have been occasioned, in a great measure, by the very active assistance which he afforded to the Queen, whilst in France, in procuring both money and arms.

noone, & are at it still, it being now neere 12 at midnight.* I staid this dispatch in hope to have sent yo^r Ma^tie y^e result of that debate, but it is soe late, as I dare not (after my sicknes) adventure to watch any longer to see y^e issue of it; only I assure yo^r Ma^tie there are diverse in y^e Com'ons House, that are resolved to stand very stiff for reiecting that Declarac'on, and if they p^evayle not then to protest against it. That yo^r Ma^tie may have a happy & safe returne† shalbe euer be y^e prayer of

Yo^r sacred Maties
Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 22^o No^bris, 1641.

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* The debate was not over until three the next morning. Sir Benjamin Rudyard said, that "it looked like the verdict of a starved jury."

† The King did return on the 25th; which closed this portion of the Correspondence; and, it may be here noted, so satisfied was his Majesty with the loyal diligence of Mr. Secretary Nicholas, that on the next day, the 26th of November 1641, he conferred the honour of Knighthood on him at Whitehall; as appears from a MS. List of Knights of that reign in the Harleian Collection, No. 6832. In some old Tracts of that period there are recorded "Five most noble Speeches" spoke to his Majesty by the Mayors of several Cities on his route. The Mayor of York assured him—"Our well-tuned bells at this present time, to congratulate the welcome of so great a Prince, turne themselves, and doe willingly stand, as if Time commanded them soe to doe."—This loyal Magistrate added—"Our wives conceive with joye, our children's tongues are untyed with alacrity, and each one doth strive to cry welcome home to so indulgent

The Elector Palatine to Mr. Browne.

Sir,

Yrs of the $\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{9}$ past, brought along wth it soe good effects of yr endeavours in my affaires, as that besides yr owne assurances & my Residt Pawls constant testimonie of yr assiduity, the contents of what it hath procured in my favour, doth clearely confirme me in confidence, & augment my obligation towards you.

My constant ill fortune hath taught me not to stand att this time much upon formalities wth those whose helpe I need, therefore I must rest satisfied wth what the mentioned letter wants thereof, in hopes it will be supplied wth reallity when it comes to the push.

I thanke you also for yr good advertisements to Pawel, & am very glad to find by yr last concerning Madlle de

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a Soveraigne, our fields do seeme triumphing in their gay diapry to welcome home your Sacred Majesty, the woods doe seeme to contemne a falling Autumne or a nipping Winter, and assume unto themselves their Spring liveries, and all to welcome home your most Sacred Majesty."

The Mayor of Stamford, after describing himself as the King's "abject Lieutenant," talked of the loyalty of his fellow citizens, saying that "each would have bin glad to have entertained the place of a speaker;" whilst Huntingdon's right worshipful Magistrate boasted, "that although Rome's Hens should daily hatch of its preposterous eggs, crocodilicall chickens, yet under the shield of Faith, by you our most Royal Sovereigne defended, and by the King of Heavens as I stand and your most medicable councell, would we not be fearful to withstand them."

Rohan, * the care w^ch the King my gracious Vncle hath of those that doe him acceptable service. And soe desiring the continuance of yo^r good offices in w^ht still further concerne the good of my interests, I assure you that I shall euer remaine

Y^r most affectionnate frend,

Haghe the 7^th of Sept: 1643. CHARLES.

For Mr. Browne, † Resid^t to the King of Gr: Britt: att Paris."

Indorsed,

From Pr: El: Palatine 7: Sept. 1643.

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* This Lady was only daughter of the Duke de Rohan, one of the great leaders of the Hugonot Party in France; and who signalized himself in the affairs at Rochelle and Isle du Rhe. In Hardwicke's State Papers there is a letter from Sir Henry de Vic to Lord Conway, dated from the Coast of France in 1627, in which she is said to be on the point of marriage with the Count de Soissons; a match which the Duke of Buckingham also describes as most desirable for the Protestant Cause. Vide pages 34, 38, Hardwicke's State Papers.

It was at one time intended by Charles the First that Prince Rupert should marry Mademoiselle de Rohan: and in the Harleian Collection, vol. III. 6988. 86. there is a Letter from the King to Prince Maurice in favour of the match.

The Elector Palatine, the writer of this Letter, returned, soon after this date, into England, where he had long been a pensioner. His Brothers were true to the Royal Cause; but he actually joined the Parliament, and sat in the Assembly of Divines.

† Afterwards Sir Richard.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Oxford, 30 Jan: 1644. *

Nicholas, I shall ad nothing to the seuerall good newes you will receaue by your fellow Secretairs letter, but the surpryse of Compton House by Sr W. Compton :† & to bid you tell your fellow Comissioners, ‡ that if there be any Treaty proposed concerning Scotland (of wch I forgott to speake to them at parting) theire answer must be, to demand a passeport for a gentleman to goe from me to see what stat the Marquis of Muntrose || is in, there

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* There is a long hiatus here in the Correspondence ; evidently arising from the King's return. Nicholas seems to have been constantly attached to his Majesty's person, until his appointment as one of the Commissioners pending this well-known Treaty. The "good news" to which his Majesty refers, may have been the entrance of the Scottish army into England, which took place on the 16th.

† Sir William Compton was third son of the Earl of Northampton. His two elder brothers were also active in the King's service.

‡ These were, Duke of Richmond, Marquis of Hertford, Earls of Southampton, Kingston, Chichester ; Lords Capel, Seymour, Hatton, Culpepper ; Sirs Edward Nicholas, Edward Hyde, Richard Lane, Thomas Gardiner, Orlando Bridgman ; Messrs. John Ashburnham, Jeffery Palmer, and Dr. Stewart.

|| Montrose had long been faithful to the King's Cause, though the King had been kept ignorant of it by the artifices of the Marquis of Hamilton ; for though in the beginning of the troubles in Scotland, as far back as 1641, Montrose had joined the Covenanters, yet seeing reason to change his

being no reason, that I should treate blyndefolde in so important a business, nor without the knowledg of him whom I haue now cheefly employed in that Kingdome & who hath undertaken my seruice there, with so much galantry, when no boddy else would: so I rest

Your asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

R 31° Jan^{i}. 1644.

His Mat^{ies} let^{r} to me by Mr. Skipw'th * concerning Scotland during y^{e} Treaty at Uxbridge.

Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS to the KING.

May it please yo^{r} sacred Mat^{ie}, Oxford 6 Feb.

I have herewth sent to yo^{r} Mat^{ie} coppies † of such papers as passed betweene yo^{r} Mat^{ies} Comission^{rs} here

Heerafter you shall doe well to marke their orders to saue us

politics, and trusting to the weight of his family alliances, he came to England with the loyal intention of rendering all the service in his power to the King. On his arrival at the English Court, Hamilton, so generally accused of deceiving Charles with respect to Scottish affairs, contrived so artfully to throw slights upon Montrose, that the latter returned to the Covenanters; with whom being again disgusted, he wrote to the King, expressing his loyalty and desire of serving him in the strongest terms; but it is asserted that Hamilton took the letter out of his Majesty's pocket, in the night, and sent it to the Covenanters in order to destroy Montrose's character in every quarter.

* Perhaps Fulmar Skipwith, of Newbold Hall, afterwards created a Baronet by Charles II.

† The King's military affairs at this moment were beginning to decline; for both the armies of Essex and Waller had now been augmented by recruits from the Metropolis

the labor to fynde out, w'che answers w'ch, as wel as to send thePapers themselfes.

yesterday, & ye Londoners touching ye Militia, wch this afternoone yor Maties Com'issionrs are to make appeare to be a power most naturally & legally in yor Matie: this morning wee are to observe ye fast according to yor Maties Proclamac'on,* but it must be donne here in ye Inne, for wee cannot be permitted to have ye Booke of Com'on Prayer read in ye church here, & wee resolve not to goe to any church where the Divine service established by law may not be celebrated.

You have done well, but they, barbarusly.

Setle the Weekely dispaches for France with the Portugall Agent, & send me word how.

I haue.

I have made reddy the dispatch to ye King of Portugall, wch wilbe tendred to yor Matie under my hand. I hope yor Matie upon ye advertisemt I sent to yor Matie & P. Rupert yesterday, hath before this taken order to pvent that Woodstock be not garrison'd as those of London have com'aunded. The Comissionrs from London say, that Sr Wm Waller † is marching westward as farre as Winchester, & those partes, wth 6000 men; and

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and its vicinity, as well as from other associated Counties. Thus reinforced, these two Parliamentary Generals carried every thing before them, and advanced into Oxfordshire, where they hovered about the King's head-quarters, and kept the Royal Army in constant alarm.

* This fast was appointed by the King, for a blessing on the Treaty then pending at Uxbridge. In the Mercurius Rusticus is a copy of the prayer ordered for the occasion; but as it spoke of the "unnatural War," and prayed the Almighty to "let the truth clearly appear, who those are, which under pretence of the public good do pursue their own private ends," it is not surprizing that obstacles were thrown in the way of its celebration.

† Waller was not a very fortunate General; but he was one of the "Self-denying Ordinance" men. Walker says of him, in the History of Independency, "that he lost two armies, yet was a gainer by the employment."

that there is an army of about 26,000 Scots to come into England att the opening of ye spring: They vapour much att London, but I heare they are much devided amongst themselves. 276. 352. 574. 662. hath 123. 63. 21. 25. 290. 657. 116. 276. 352. 225. 276. 428. offring 163. 300. since 173. 276. 340. 225. 276. Militia, soe as 276. 10. 26. 198. 166. satisfac'on. 278. 225. 626. but I know not ye p'ticlars, having not had tyme to speake wth them concerning their discourse, & when I know it, I shall not rely much upon it. God preserve yor Maties person & prosper yor designes, soe prayes

No Bragges must stager, much less alter you in the way you ar, in constantly adhering to Concience, Justice, & Honnor.

In this, free dealing is the best. Conscience is not to be sould at any rate: but if they will helpe me in the Militia to purpose, I will assist them for theireArears.

Yor sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Uxbridge 5o ffebr: 1644. Edw. Nicholas.

In the King's hand at the bottom of this Letter:

"I should thinke, if in your priuat discourses, (I nowais meane in your publique meetings,) with the London Comissioners, you would put them in mynde that they were arrant Rebelles & that their end must be damnation, ruine, and infamy, except they repented, & founde some way to free themselfes from the damnable way they ar in (this Treaty being the aptest) it might doe good; & cheefly, if Hertford or Southampton would doe it, though I beliue it will haue the owen operation by any of you, well strenthened with arguments: but the more of you that speakes in this dialect the better: This is written not as your Maister but your Frend,

C. R.

Owld Vulpone is not of my opinion, therfor I am not confident concerning this posterip, but refer my selfe to your

the Sh. of the Exche: Office.
353 : 116 : 276 : 352 : 225 : 276 : 428 : 560.

"For yor sacred Matie."

"Yours apostyled."

$\frac{5}{6}$ ffebr. 1644.

My Ler to ye King apostyled concerning or proceedings in ye Treaty at Uxbridge.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Oxford 8. Feb: 1644.*

Nicholas, as I haue hitherto approued of your proceedings, so I will nott now censure them: since, upon the place, you may have founde such reasons as you haue not fully expressed to me: but, to deale freely, I could haue wished, that ye had used more reseruation concerning the Militia: for though I could be content to buy Peace at the rate ye haue sett downe, yet ye might haue reserued something to haue beene drawen on by degrees upon debates, wch me thinkes is a more popular way, then coming at first to the height of your concessions, to leaue your selfes nothing but negatiues, in case they should make any aproaches to you: And for the tyme, I should thinke a much shorter tyme then three years were sufficient, to secure the performance of conditions, whereas one cannot tell how any men may be tempted, being so long setled in a manner in the Regall Power, to fynde excuses & delayes for the parting with it, besydes the people being once inewred to that way of gouernement may not be so willing to returne to the owld way, as beliuing it of less subjection then Monarchicall: So I rest

Your asseured frend,

Charles R.

If you be pressed to giue a positiue answer concerning Scotland, remember to follow the directions I gaue you in that particular.

Indorsed, R. 9o ffebr. 1644.

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* The points referred to in this Letter require no historical illustration; but the Letter itself is a most remarkable document with respect to the private history of the Negociations at Uxbridge.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Oxford 11 Feb. 1644.

Nicholas, the directions I gaue you concerning sending to Muntrose, I meane only should extend to those things wch meerly concerne Scotland, so if that wer the only case, it would be no hinderance to you for what concernes the Militia: but I doe not yet conceaue, how I can giue way, that ether of my Kingdomes should haue a hand in the gouernement of the other, without breache of trust to eather: yet in this I doe not so restraine you (so that ye still keepe the number, that I shall nominat, at least equall to the other, & enlarge upon no other points) but leaue it to your discretions what to doe, in case you shall fynde a Peace may be gotten by it: But as for those things wch meerly concerne Scotland, I sticke close to my former order of sending to Muntrose, not being ashamed to auow that I shall be much guyded by what I shall heare from him, & should be much more ashamed to treate in those things, without at least comunicating with him, who hath hazarded so freely and generously for me,

Your asseured frend,

Charles R.

Indorsed,

11o ffebr. 1644. R. 12.

His Maties concerning Scotland.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicholas, concerning the answers to the King of Denmarke & D: of Courland, Digby shall giue you my directions. As for the draught of the paper for Mondayes con-

ference, I lyke it well, & for the critesisme I haue made upon it for the change of the tence, is only that ye should seeme to agree concerning the Militia of Scotland, before that of England were setled: lyking so well what ye haue alreddy done touching that article, that I com'and you not to vary a jott from the substance of it, unlesse it (be) to enlarge my power, or shorten the tyme: as concerning a safe-conduct for a messenger to-Scotland, I meerly intend it for those things, wch only concernes that kingdome: to wch I am still constant, leauing you to your Christian liberty, to what shall reciprocally concerne bothe; but, by your fauors, I understand not, how any demand can breake off a treaty, indeed insisting upon some, may doe prittely that way. At this tyme I haue no more to say: but, goe not a title lesse concerning Religion & Churche-gouernement, & soe I rest

Your asseured friend,

Oxford 15 ffeb: 1644. CHARLES R.

Indorsed,

R: 16° ffebr. 1644.

The King concerning the Scots being for the Militia of England.

(A FRAGMENT.)

Oxford 17 Feb. 1644.

Memoriall for Se: Nicholas concerning the Treaty at Vxbridge.

1. First for Religion & Churche Gouernement, I will not goe one jott further, than what is offered by you alreddy.

2. And so for the Militia, more then what ye haue alowed by me: but, euen in that, ye must obserue, that I must

haue free nomination of the full halfe; as, if the totall number Scots and all, bee Thirty, I name Fiueteene; yet if they (I meane the Englishe Rebelles) will be so base as to admitt of Ten Scots, to Twenty Englishe, I am content to name Fiue Scots and Tenn Englishe: and so proportionably to any nomber that shall be agreede on.

3. As for gaining of particular Persons: besydes Securitie, I giue you power, to promis them Rewards for performed seruices, not sparing to egage (engage) for places, so they be not of great trust, or to be taken away from honnest men in possession: but as much profitt as you will: with this last, you ar only to acquaint Richemond, Southampton, Culpeper, & Hyde.

Indorsed, "R. 17° ffebr: 1644. The Kings Memoriall concerning Religion and Militia during ye Treaty at Uxbridge."

The King to Prince Rupert.

Nepueu, Ticknill* 14 June 1644.

First I must congratulate with you, for yor good successes, assuring you, that the things themselues ar no more

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* Tickenhall, near Bewdley. Whilst Charles was here, he paid a formal visit to Bewdley, previous to which the Corporation met to determine upon the mode of receiving the Royal visit. The charges are entered upon the Town Books; and it appears that the sum of two shillings was expended in repairing the Corporation Pew in the Church, and sixpence for sweeping out that sacred edifice; making in all, the grand total of two shillings and sixpence sterling!

In a very minute account of the King's affairs at this period, written by Sir Edward Walker, Garter King at Arms, and pre-

welcom to me, then that you are the meanes. I know the importance of supplying you with powder, for wch I haue taken all possible wayes, having sent both to Ireland & Bristoll. As from Oxford this bearer is well satisfyd that

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served in the Harleian Collection, No. 4229, it is stated that the King arrived at Bewdley on the 12th; after having made that very arduous and judicious retreat from Oxfordshire, in which he evaded the pursuit of both Essex and Waller, by forced marches over the country between Witney and Worcester, along what is now the Cheltenham road. The march upon Bewdley is said, by Sir Edward, to have been made with the intent of saving Worcester from a siege, of drawing Waller further from London, and also of enticing him into a difficult country, where the King's army, then without artillery or heavy baggage, might have considerable advantages over him. Waller, however, avoided the western side of the Severn, and fixed his head-quarters at Bromsgrove, contenting himself with advancing a small body of horse to Kidderminster, the "Foreign" of which town, as it is called, reaches to the eastern end of Bewdley Bridge. The King's foot were all in Bewdley on the 14th, and the horse quartered along the Severn towards Bridgenorth.

The King was so much aware of the delicacy of his situation at this moment, that on the day preceding the date of this letter, he had formed a Council of War, directing them to meet every day and report their proceedings in respect to forming a plan of retreat, either into Wales or upon Shrewsbury; and on this day the Council and King determined to retreat back to Worcester, and so on to Evesham. He was closely followed by Waller; but, immediarely after this date, eluded him so far as to reach Daventry before him, and finally defeated Waller at Cropredy Bridge on the 29th of June.

At the date of this letter the King had got intelligence that York was besieged by the Scottish army (just before the battle

it is impossible to haue at present, but if he tell you that I may spare them from hence, I leaue you to iudge, hauing but 36 left: but what I can get from Bristoll (of wch there is not much certainty, it being threatned to be besieged) you shall haue.

But now I must giue you the trew state of my affaires, wch if their condic'on be such as enforces me to giue you more peremptory com'ands then I would willingly doe, you must not take it ill. If York be lost, I shall esteeme my Crowne little lesse, vnless supported by yor suddain march to mee, & a miraculous conquest in the south, before the effects of the northern power can be found here: but if York be relieved, and you beat the Rebels armies of both kingdomes wch are before it; then, but otherwise not, I may possibly make a shift (vpon the defensive) to spin out time, vntill you come to assist me: Wherefore I com-

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of Marston Moor), which was also joined by Fairfax and Lord Manchester; this explains the military orders here given, which are perfectly in consonance with the existing accounts of Prince Rupert's conduct previous to that battle. It may be remarked, however, that Bulstrode, as well as others, brings an accusation against Rupert for fighting the Rebel forces after raising the siege; but the express words of the King imply a desire not only for the relief of York, but also for a battle with the enemy, else why did he allude to "beating the Rebel armies" as a means of enabling him to spin out time? This is a most important fact in the history of the Civil Wars; for the Marquis of Newcastle, and other General Officers, were so disgusted with the Prince for fighting, against or without orders as they supposed, that they left England immediately, going to Hamburg, and thereby the whole of the north and loyal Yorkshire were lost to the Royal Cause!

mand & coniure you by the duety & affecc'on wch I know you beare me, that (all new enterprises layd aside) you immediatly march (according to yor first intention) with all yor force to the reliefe of York: but if that be either lost, or haue freed themselves from the besiegers, or that for want of powder you cannot vndertake that work: that you immediately march with your whole strength to Worster, to assist me and my army, without wch, or yor having releived York by beating the Scots, all the successes you can afterwards haue, most infallibly wilbe vselesse vnto me. You may beleive that nothing but an extreme necessity could make me write thus vnto you, wherefore, in this case, I can no wayes doubt of your punctuall compliance with

Yor loving Oncle & most faithfull friend,

CHARLES R.

I commanded this bearer to speake to you concerning Vauasor.

(Copy.)

At a Councell at Oxford, 5o December 1644. Present

The Kings most excellent Matie,

Prince Rupert	Lo: Chamberlaine
Prince Maurice	Ea: of Berks
Lord Keeper	Ea: of Sussex
Lord Treasurer	Ea: of Chichester
Lo: Duke of Richmond	Lo: Digby
Lo: Marqs Hertford	Lo: Seymour
Lo: Great Chamb'laine	Lo: Culpeper
Ea: of South'ton	Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Mr. Chancr of ye Exchequr.

A Letter being then read written by y^e^ Earle of Essex to his Highness Prince Rupert Generall of his Ma^t's^ Armyes in these words,

" S^r^,

There being a message sent from his Ma^tie^ by y^e^ Committess of both kingdomes that were lately at Oxon concerning a safe-conduct for y^e^ Duke of Richmond &. E. of South'ton without any direc'con : I am commanded by both Houses of Parliament to give yo^r^ Highnesse notice, That if y^e^ King bee pleased to desire a safe conduct for y^e^ Duke of Richmond & y^e^ Ea: of South'ton w^th^ their attendants from y^e^ Lords and Commons assembled in y^e^ Parliam^t^ of England at Westminster, to bring to y^e^ Lords and Commons assembled in y^e^ Parliament of England, and y^e^ Commission^rs^ of y^e^ kingdome of Scotland now at London, an answere to the Propositions presented to his Ma^tie^ for a safe and well grounded peace, it shalbee graunted.—This is all I haue at present to trouble youre Highnesse, being

Yo^r^ Highness humble Servant,

3^o^ Decemb. 1644. Essex."

Which Letter and y^e^ expressions therein being fully considered & debated, it was by the whole Councell vnanimously resolved, That his Ma^ties^ desire of a safe-conduct in y^e^ termes expressed in that Letter, would not bee any acknowledgment or concession of y^e^ members of y^e^ two Houses sitting at Westminster to bee a Parliament, nor any wayes prejudice his Majesties cause,

Whereupon his Ma^tie^ declaring openly at y^e^ Board, that since such was their Lo^ps^ opinion, that hee did therefore and (*eo animo*) consent thereunto. And accordingly his Ma^tie^ desired his Highnesse Prince Rupert, as his Ma^ties^ Generall, to retorne this answere :

" My Lord,

I am commanded by his Ma^tie to desire of yo^r Lo^p a safe-conduct for the Duke of Richmond and the Ea: of South'ton w^th their attendants, coaches and horses, and other accomodac'ons for their journey in their coming to London, during their stay, and in their returne when they shall thinke fit from y^e Lords and Com'ons assembled in y^e Parliament of England at Westminster, to bring to y^e Lords and Commons assembled in y^e Parliament of England and y^e Commission^rs of y^e Parliament of Scotland now at London an answere to y^e propositions presented to his Ma^tie for a safe and well-grounded peace. Resting

Yo^r Lo^ps Servant,

Oxon. 5^th Decemb^r 1644. RUPERT."

Which said answer was accordingly sent to London by a Trumpeter.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

The following is in the hand-writing of Sir E. N.

Memorandum: that the King and myself of all the Councell Boorde were the only persons that concurred not in opinion; that it was fitt to call those sitting at Westm^r a Parliam^t. P. Rupert thoughe he were p^esent did not vote, because he was to execute what should be resolved on by this Councell; but by the orderr & practice of the Councell Boorde, if the maior part agree to any act or order, all the Councellors that were p^esent att the debate, albeit they dissented are involved, and are to be named as if they consented.—E. N.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hemly Hall,* 16 May, 1645.

Nicholas, I haue receaued, & thanke you for your seuerall dispaches, but haue no newes to send you in recompence to yours, nor expect to sende you any untill we shall come to 488 (sum'on) : 338 (Chester) : 361 (wch is our first designe) : being not yet resolued whether to goe afterward:† I am glad you goe so well on wth your 448 (provisions) : 54 : 74 : & hope you will take as great care that you be not disturbed by mutinous people: this is all at this tyme from

Your most asseured frend,

Charles R.

Let hencefoorthe 337 (Crown Ls:) . signefy 1 : 40 : 30 : 70 : 33 : 23 : 50 (butin) : 71 : 24 : 40 : 31 : 73 : & 447 (Portland) : 74 : 47 : 10 : 48 : 25 : 53 (past) : 72 : 75.

Being newly come hither to Bisberry,‡ I haue certaine intelligence that Sr John Pryce, being Gouernor & in Mungomery Castell, is declared, & houlds it for me.

16o Maij 1645. R: 21o.

The King to me.

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* In Staffordshire, the seat of Lord Dudley.

† On the day following the date of this Letter measures were taken by the Parliament for the siege of Oxford; for the Commons, on the 17th of May, sent a message to the Lords, to let their Lordships know "that the House of Commons, out of a desire to put an end to this miserable war, do think it fit that siege be laid to the City of Oxford, for the taking it, it being the centre of our troubles."

‡ Bibury in Oxfordshire.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicholas, Chetwin, 18 May 1645.

I receaued yours of the 16. this morning, to wch I haue litle to answer but to thanke you for your often aduertice-ments,* & to tell the Marquis Winchester that he recom-pence his woode losse out of Wallops:† for newes I refer you to your fellow Secretair & frend, the generall being, that we are (God be thanked) all well & in hart, the Re-belles haning twyce offered to beate up some of our quar-ters, but wth losse to themselues: I desyre to know how you goe on in your recuting [recruiting] & forteſications, as well as you haue satisfied me concerning your prouisions: So desyring you to send thease inclosed to 454: I rest

Your most asseured frend,

Charles R.

(Address) "for your selfe."

Indorsed; 18o Maij. 1645. R. 21o. The King to me.

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* It was, however, the King's intention about this period, to have done more for Sir Edward than mere thanks; for in a letter to the Queen, dated on the 27th of March, intercepted and published by the Parliament, he says, "As for Jack Bar-clay, I do not remember that I gave thee any hope of making him Master of the Wards; for Cottington had it long before thou went hence, and I intended it to Secr. Nich. if he then would have received it; and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it."

† Evidently in reference to the sequestrations inflicted upon that gallant and loyal nobleman.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Wiston,* 4 June 1645.

Nicholas, I haue receaued yours, of the 30: May, this morning, none of yours hauing yet miscarried: but I would not answer any of them myselfe untill 292 : 287 : I 177 : were 307 : marching 222 : towards 182 : 273 : 36 : 10 : 33 : 20 : 53 : you 73 : 313 : 75 : wthout 298 : 232 : thinking of any 92 : thing 285 : 74 : 44 : else 4 : 54 : 45 : before 76 : 105 : 134 : 46 : I 77 : haue 177 : 157 reliu ed 133 : 78 : you 313 : yet 312 : I 177 : must 212 : deale freely 376 : 203 : 79 : wth 298 : you 313 : that 283 : my 17 : army 84 : 83 : 325 : is so weake being not (105 : 182 : 226 : 70 : 80 : 4000 143 : foote 497 : 375 : & 93 : 81 : scarce 55 : 112 : 53 : 45 : 82 : horse 3500 : 174 : 73 :) as 95 : I 177 : 74 : 54 : 14 : 11 : shall 4 : 6 : vn 73 : 292 : willingly hazard to 273 : reliue 33 : 46 : 5 : 23 : 60 : 57 : Oxon 436 : before 105 : 134 : Lo. 382 : 234 : Goring† 75 :

* There are several places of this name; but it seems probable that the Wiston here meant is in Nottinghamshire.

† Goring at this period was engaged in the siege of Taunton, and had been ordered, as Bulstrode asserts, by letters from the King, to quit that place and join his Majesty, who was afraid, just before the battle of Naseby, that the enemy might be too powerful for him. Bulstrode says that he wrote the General's reply, in which Charles was urged to act upon the defensive until Taunton should be taken; but this writer hints some strong suspicions of Goring being actuated by sinister views. The whole passage is curious. Vide Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 124. Edit. 1721.

or Garrarde be joyned to
7 : 12 : 34 : 33 : 44 : 105 : 76 : 184 : 31 : 45 : 21 :
me an absolute
273 : 221 : except such 13 : 32 : 77 : 10 : 50 : 53 :
necessity
40 : 4 : 61 : 70 : 46 : 78 : 32 : 57 : 1 : 44 : 54 : 55 :
that Oxon wilbe lost
45 : 71 : 85 : 283 : 436 : 305 : 105 : 79 : 4 : 42 : 53 :
if not by such a day,
72 : 183 : 226 : 70 : 78 : reliued 106 : 267 : 11 : 123 :
wherfore as you love my
302 : 134 : 97 : 313 : 5 : 43 : 63 : 44 : 80 : 18 : 86 :
pᵉservation use
81 : 243 : 54 : 45 : 33 : 62 : 11 : 70 : 185 : 82 : 291 :
of prolonging
46 : 83 : all possible meanes 233 : 244 : 196 : 182 :
yoʳ provisions though it be by chasing
314 : 448 : 55 : 77 : 286 : 178 : 105 : 106 : 78 : 2 : 14 :
out all people
13 : 54 : 182 : 232 : 90 : unnecessary 47 : 44 : 40 : 48 :
who haue not prouision for
6 : 45 : 304 : 157 : 226 : 71 : 79 : 448 : 134 : 281 :
themselves & stinting
19 : 53 : 46 : 5 : 57 : 54 : 74 : 93 : 75 : 55 : 70 :
D. of Yorke not
24 : 30 : 71 : 182 : euery one (117 : 233 : 512 : 226 :
ed to a small
72 : except 133) 273 : 73 : 10 : 74 : 53 : 17 : 11 :
proportion of
4 : 44 : 77 : 244 : 47 : 40 : 33 : 70 : 185 : 78 : 233 :
meate euery day &
221 : 12 : 71 : 45 : 79 : 129 : 86 : 80 : 123 : 93 :
doe not me to you
118 : 45 : 226 : 72 : 81 : hasten 221 : 273 : 313 :
wᵗʰout very very
298 : 232 : 294 : 74 : 60 : 44 : 33 : 84 : 74 : abso-
necessity for
lute 30 : 46 : 3 : 45 : 53 : 55 : 23 : 70 : 85 : 83 : 73 :
upon the faith of a
134 : 293 : 235 : 281 : 137 : 233 : 75 : 10 : 76 : 1 :
Christian noe tyme
14 : 33 : 23 : 53 : 70 : 24 : 11 : 30 : 77 : 226 : 498 :

be lost for yo[r] succour
shall 105 : 78 : 5 : 40 : 54 : 72 : 134 : 314 : 488 : 78 :
how soone it may be
16 : 41 : 36 : 266 : 235 : 45 : 79 : 178 : 209 : 105 :
donne w[h] any of not
121 : 298 : 92 : probability 233 : 226 : 71 : 73 :
hazarding like
16 : 12 : 56 : 13 : 34 : 20 : 182 : 199 : 77 : mad
I stay at
men; which 177 : shall 55 : 72 : 10 : 86 : 94 :
Harborow (wch is
74 : 15 : 11 : 34 : 50 : 43 : 35 : 39 : (299 : 178 :
my morrows march) some tyme to
17 : 84 : 216 : 41 : 38 : 55 : 222 :) 262 : 498 : 273 :
gather up & to make
75 : 8 : 12 : 281 : 34 : 293 : straglers 93 : 273 : 219 :
provision to supply you for this service
448 : 273 : 486 : 313 : 134 : 90 : 282 : 318 : & then
march faster or
wee shall 222 : 76 : 64 : 11 : 53 : 70 : 44 : 33 : 234 :
slower
77 : 54 : 5 : 42 : 307 : according to intelligence. So
I rest Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

Indorsed, 4o Junij 1645, "the Kg to me."

*** The decyphering is in the hand-writing of Sir Edward Nicholas.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas, Daintry, 9 June 1645.

I have receaued so many letters from you, that I beliue none of them ar miscaried,* & this morning one from you

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* The fact is, however, that Charles's general correspondence was, at this time, much interrupted; for the letter of Goring, already alluded to, was intercepted by Fairfax, and induced the Rebel Commanders to bring the King to action at Naseby, before he could be joined by the army from the West.

of the 7. & wth it one of the same date from all my Comissioners except Southampton and Dorset by wch I perceaue they were not so much stressed by the siege as the rest: but the cheefe end of this is, by you to send this inclosed to 454 : tell 394 : that I have receaued his 165 of the 16: / 26: of May but would not stay this messenger untill it was desyfered: I will say no more now, but if we peripatetiques get no more mischances then you Oxfordians * ar lyke to haue this somer, we may all expect probably a merry winter. So I rest Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

" For your selfe."

9o Junij. 1645. R. 10°. His Matie l'tr to me.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas, Daintry, 11 June 1645.

As I thanke you for aduerticing me, so I much wonder

at the letter & message
94 : 281 : 204 : 93 : 221 : 53 : 55 : 10 : 7 : 44 : 73 :
wch the Lords brought
299 : 281 : 406 : 54 : 74 : 50 : 33 : 40 : 60 : 8 : 14 :
me, that the Councell
70 : 75 : 221 : for you know 283 : 281 : 351 : 76 : 36 :

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* A letter written by his Majesty, on this day, to the Queen, was intercepted by the emissaries of the Parliament. In it he assured her that the Rebels had been forced to raise the siege of Oxford, in consequence of his march after the taking of Leicester; and that quarrels were then very frequent between Fairfax's and Cromwell's soldiers. He also observed that his affairs never were in so hopeful and so fair a way; adding, in the tenderest manner, that all he wished for, in case of eventual success, was the undisturbed enjoyment of her society!

was neuer wont
11 : 53 : 77 : 30 : 129 : 78 : 37 : 40 : 31 : 71 : 79 :
to debaite
273 : 80 : 20 : 45 : 51 : 12 : 23 : 72 : 46 : upon any
not propounded to them
matter : 226 : 70 : 81 : 244 : 249 : 133 : 273 : 281 :
by King it were
17 : 82 : 106 : ye 398 : & certainely 178 : 307 : a strange
thing if my marching Army
285 : 183 : 83 : 18 : 84 : 222 : 182 : 325 (espetially
at the head of them
I being 94 : 281 : 173 : 233 : 281 : 19 : and) should
by my sitting
be gouerned 106 : 73 : 17 : 85 : 74 : 53 : 24 : 70 : 122 :
Councell at Oxon when
351 : 94 : 436 : the 303 : it is scarce fitt for my selfe
at such a distance
94 : 267 : 11 : 124 : 71 : 12 : 31 : 1 : 45 : to give
positiue Order
any 47 : 43 : 53 : 26 : 70 : 25 : 63 : 57 : 439 : & in-
wonder that
deed it added to my 39 : 42 : 30 : 20 : 44 : 33 : 283 :
could not hinder
Vulpone 109 : 226 : 72 : 73 : 14 : 23 : 30 : 21 : 45 :
this
34 : 282 : as the Gouernor tould me he did such an other
indiscreete motion
181 : 124 : 2 : 35 : 25 : 71 : 46 : 74 : 17 : 41 : 72 :
185 : but few dayes agoe: howeuer I desyre you to take
the like of this
the best care you may that 281 : 199 : 233 : 282 : 105 :
be not done
226 : 71 : 77 : 121 : with heerafter; of wch I will say
no more, hauing freely & fully spoken of it to 406 : 16 :
Lord Hatton
13 : 70 : 72 : 43 : 32 : to whom I refer you, & rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

The Gouernor hathe earnestly desyred me to thanke Vulpone and your selfe for the great assistance ye haue

giuen him in my absence, wch I hartely doe, desyring you to continew so; for I fynde he will haue need of all helpes.

R: 14o Junii. 1645. The King to me concerning the l'tres sent his Matie by the Councell when he was at Daintree.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

*Lubnam, 13 June 1645.

Nicholas, this is first to send this inclosed by your meanes to the 70 : Queene 454 : 240 : then to lett you know you ar like to heare of me tomorrow.† I marche to Land 4 : 10 : 30 : 20 : Abay 11 : 50 : 12 : 84 : 82 : after that to Melton 17 : 44 : 5 : 70 : Belvoir 40 : 31 : & so to 51 : 45 : 6 : 60 : 42 : 23 : 33 : but I asseure you that I shall looke before I leape farther North 32 : 43 : 34 : 72 : 14 : 73 : but I am going to supper, so I rest Your most asseured frend,

Charles R.

Woluerhampton 17 June.

This was written befor the Bataile.

" For your selfe."

17° Junii 1645. The King to me before ye Battaile of Naisby.

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* In Leicestershire. This Letter, as noted by Sir Edward Nicholas, was written on the very day before the battle of Naseby.

† The "inclosed" Letter is not in the possession of the Editor; but, on a comparison of dates and facts, it appears to have contained the news of the capture of Leicester. It was at midnight, after this Letter was written, that a Council was held in the King's tent, and a resolution taken to give battle to the

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.*

Nicholas, I thanke you for the freedom you haue used in your letters to me, & as for the 281 : 23 : ill 4 : 6 : intelligence 395 : 105 : betwixt 70 : 36 : 24 : 87 : 71 : my 73 : Soldiers 17 : 84 : 484 : 53 : I beliue I haue found the bottom of it, & haue put such a remedy to it, as hope heereafter to haue little troble that way: and am confident, that there is 226 : 288 : 113 : 233 : 487 : with 10 : 153 : 55 : 72 : 382 : 93 : 414 : 104 : 477 : 165 : 295 : 76 : 64 : fancies 11 : 30 : 1 : 26 : 44 : 54 : for this I haue very good ground; but now I desyre to know who ar the melancolly men amongst you, that is to say if any dispare of our business, (for we heere thinke that we had so much the better, as we might spare them thus much & yet be upon equall termes,) & in particular what 478 : 421 : Southampton 385 : 93 : 406 : 54 : 45 : 18 : 46 : 34 : thinkes of my present affaires: I haue so good hopes of my Welshe leauies that I dout not but (by the grace of God)

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enemy: but it also appears by this Letter, that when Charles retired to rest on that night, he had no intention of adopting those measures which, recommended by a *midnight Council*, proved the entire ruin of his affairs.

* This Letter is without date of place; but it, and several of the subsequent ones, mark the King's route between the battle of Naseby and his arrival at Newark; a space of time during which Bulstrode describes him as "flying from place to place, not well knowing which way to turn himself." It is evident, however, that he had specific plans in view; on account of which he visited Wales, Shropshire, and afterwards Huntingdon and Yorkshire, before he proceeded to Newark.

to be in the head of a greater Army within this two monthes, then any I haue seene this yeare, & so I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

This is in my owld cyfer to show I haue not lost it; send this inclosed where you use to doe.

"For your selfe."

R: 8o July 1645. The Kg to me.

Prince RUPERT to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Sir,

I sent you word by Col[l] Terringham that I had receaved your letter by this woman, so alsoe the unfortunat losse of brige Watter, sence w[ch] I heare noe sertay'ty of the Enemy's motions. there is a shippe landed at dartmouth laden w[th] 200 bar[l] of powder and store of arms. If 209 : Fairfax 474 : advance 53 : 76 : 33 : 99 : 10 : 40 : speedily 343 : 40 : 225 : to 347 : us 363 : Wee 369 : shall 28 : 87 : bee 97 : 110 : forced to 76 : 347 : quit 308 : Bath 437 : for want 13 : 54 : 81 : 50 : of 278 : men 248 : and 100 : victualls 616 : 30 : 527 : but if hee 604 : 91 : give 183 : 174 : us 363 : 20 : time 51 : 17 : 38 : 43 : wee 369 shall doe 125 : well 373 : 273 : 158 :—I heare but little from G[ll] Goring.* Prince 544 : Charles 280 : is 207 : at 101 : 4 :

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* Goring had been defeated by Fairfax, on the 10th of this month, at Suttonfield, near Bridgewater, which town surrendered to the Parliament on the 23d. Colonel Windham, the Governor, made a gallant defence, for he had been educated in principles of rational loyalty. Some years afterwards, when he assisted Charles the Second in his escape, he told the King,

Pendennis Castle that Sr
140 : 40 : 79 : 207 : 96 : 452 : it is reported 354. 431.
Jo: Berkly hath giuen five hundred to some I know
190. 174. 81. 153. 204. 158. 347. 328. body 205. 218.
for to stop Prince Charles * from coming
—148. 347. 30. 50. 27. 6. 40. 544. 160. 119. 208. 66.
to Exeter.
347. 470. I doubt we shall shortly see the mistery of this.†
Sir R. Grenvile‡ ye only souldier in the West is
482. 353. 282. 225. 594. 208. 353. 371. 207. 76. dis-

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that Sir Thomas, his father, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, called to him his five sons: "My children," said he, "we have hitherto seen serene and quiet times under our three last Sovereigns; but I must now warn you to prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the tranquillity of your native country. But whatever happen, *do you faithfully honour and obey your Prince, and adhere to the Crown.* I charge you *never to forsake the Crown, though it should hang upon a bush.*" Hume's England, vol. VII. p. 199. edit. 1812.

* Charles (the Prince) had first been under the tuition of the Marquis of Newcastle, afterwards of the Marquis of Hertford; also of Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury. His education, latterly, was at Oxford, of which University the Marquis of Hertford was Chancellor.

† Berkeley was high in the Prince of Wales's confidence about the time of this "mystery"—for when Goring complained of the proceedings of the Prince's Council, Berkeley was sent, along with Sir Hugh Pollard and Colonel Ashburnham, to hold a private conference with him on the subject.

‡ Sir Richard Grenville was soon after proposed to command the foot in the Army of the West, when the insubordination of the troops, through the misconduct of Lord Wentworth, rendered some new arrangements absolutely necessary. But Grenville, contrary to expectation, refused to act; and he was therefore sent prisoner to the Castle in Mount's Bay, where

& is at his owne house
contented 78. 40. 77. 90. 100. 207. 101. 184. 284. 85.
ye King will
24. 33. 28. 43. wch he will defend. What 499. 371.
doe I know not. Lo: Digby s word (part erased) I
125. 205. 218. 267. 456. send. 28. 13. 76. 40. or 205.
shall as on as some
30. 85. 97. 108. 102. so 2. 82. 90. 102. 328. speculation
s are brought to
30. 20. 31. 98. 71. 44. 24. 36. 66. 87. 50. 20. 347. 301.
proiection
16. 40. 10. 50. 211. 604. 341. Pray god this prove well.
the Scots Army is
Just as I am writing I heare that 280. 353. 592. 427. 207.
past betweene Monmouth
4. 102. 50. 20. 110. 50. 369. 80. 40. 37. 24. 81. 39.
& Abergainy
27. 36. 51. 87. 90. 97. 53. 61. 44. 177. 41. 94. 31.
this inclosed is conserning the commissioners of asseise, whoe are soe bond up by the members att Oxford that noe thing canbe issued wthout their consent; if they were but soe farr trusted as that, in such case as now we are in, (when we need powder and provisions) monys might be issued from thence to such uses as shall be most necessary for his Maties service in the guarison, I shall be accountable that none shall be desired by me wthout there be a great necessity. I pray lett me have a speedy answer, wch will infenetly oblige

Your most faithfull frend,

RUPERT.

Bristol 27 of July.

27o July 1645. Rec. 31. Prce Rupert to me.

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he remained until the successes of the Parliament Army in that quarter induced the Prince, lest he should fall into their hands, to permit him to transport himself to the Continent.

Prince Rupert to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Sir,

As I told you our resolution in my last by the woman we are ced to quit Bath. The King for 369 : 98. for-138. 347. 308. 437. 499. intends 148. 592. designe : a fine 459. you may be sure that I have hand in it, for I have this from others: this is alle our news: pray write often to us; I have receaved but one expresse from you, the rest were by messengers of my owne. So I rest

Yor most faithfull frend,

Bristoll 29th of July. Rupert.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Cardife 4 Aug. 1645.

Nicholas, hauing comanded your fellow Secretary* to giue you a full accont as well of our proceedings heere, as resolutions; I will nether trouble you nor my selfe with repetitions: only for my selfe I must desyre you to lett euery one know, that no distresse of fortune whatsoeuer shall euer make me (by the grace of God) in any thing receade from those grounds I layed doune to you, who were my Comissioners at Uxbridge; & wch (I thanke them) the Rebelles haue published in print: & though I could haue wished that paines had beene spaired, yet I will nether deny that those things ar myne, wch they haue sett out in my name, (only some words heere & there mistaken, & some com'as misplaced, but not much materiall) nor, as a good Protestant, or honnest man, blushe for any of those papers;

* Lord Digby.

indeed, as a discreet man, I will not justefy my selfe: & yet I would faine know him, who would be willing that the freedome of all his priuat letters were publiquely seene, as myne haue now beene; howsoeuer, so that one clause be rightly understood, I care not much though the rest take theire fortunes; it is, concerning the Mungrill Parlament: the trewth is, that Sussex * factiousness, at that tyme, put me somewhat out of patience, wch made me freely vent my displeasure against those of his party to my Wyfe, & the intention of that phrase was, that his faction did what they could to make it come to that, by theire raising and fomenting of basse propositions: this is cleerely euidenced by my following excuse to her for suffring those people to trouble her, the reason being, to eschew those greater inconueniences wch they had & wer more lykly to cause heere, then there. I am going to supper, so I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

I have reaued (received) your new cyfer as for example,

my (erased) in that
224 : 302 : 181 : 176 : 276 : 14 : 54 : 11 : 308 : 216 :
17 : 1 : 181 : 72 : 232 : 18 : 35 : 2 : 50 : 151 : 51 :
comaund wch
60 : 316 : 110 : 168 : Husbands 346 : 398 : 316 : 98 :
you are to use to the nature
290 : 295 : 86 : 70 : according 290 : 277 : 225 : 19 :
of the thing
43 : 3 : 37 : 80 : 231 : 277 : 280 :

Indorsed, Cardiff 4o Aug: 1645. R. 10. The King to me concerning the Mungrill P'liam't.

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* Thomas Lord Saville, recently created Earl of Sussex.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Bridgenorthe, 9 Aug: 1645.

Nicholas, this morning I receaued yours of the 30: July, wch requyres no answer but thankes for your often aduertisments: & particularly for those wch ar of most freedome, in answer to wch I shall desyre you, (with the like freeness)

Digby's friends make not
to take heed that 358 : 51 : 376 : 53 : 210 : 229 : 17 :
most of suspicion (erased) for I
50 : 220 : 231 : 277 : 511 : against 401 : 147 : 174 :
cannot con from you that Digby
111 : 229 : 18 : 115 : ceale : 148 : 316 : 276 : 358 :
(erased) * and all that
39 : 31 : 19 : 35 : 53 : perfectly 453 : 96 : 94 : 276 :
are beleeved to be his friends
98 : 104 : 202 : 83 : 290 : 104 : 170 : particular 376 : 52 :
that there is no
& I asseur you 276 : 277 : 1 : 36 : 60 : 181 : 229 : 124 :
dispatch yet come to me from
72 : 32 : 17 61 : 41 : 315 : 116 : 290 : 213 : 148 :

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401 : For newes, I refer you to your frends, only I must tell you that to morrow I intend to march to Lichfield & 403 : 96 :
soe to Newarke ye next day; but if ye
266 : 290 : 437 : 277 : 227 : 524 : 109 : 175 : 277 :
Irish be come
78 : 2 : 79 : 51 : 42 : 104 : 116 : of wch I haue good
then I turne to Chester
hope 277 : 27 : 174 : shall 17 : 43 : 3 : 28 : 37 : 290 :
340. My last was from Cardife, wch was written in such haste that I forgot to bid you send me word (wch now I earnestly desyre you not to forget to doe) how my printed letters ar, & haue been, sensured at Oxford, by the seuerall

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* These figures are decyphered by Sir Edward Nicholas, but erased with a pen; yet may in part be restored.

sorts of people, according to theire dyuerse humors; this is all at this tyme from

Your most asseured frend,
CHARLES R.

In the voide place of your last cyfer at the end of the Ws of the hindermost alfabet I haue filled it, with the word *want:* lykewais the two others at the end of the Ys with *yesternight* & *yonder.*

9o Aug: 1645. R. 16o. The King to me from Bridgenorth.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Doncaster, 18 Aug: 1645.

Nicholas, I haue sent this bearer expressly to giue you a particular account of my present condition, wch considering what it was at the beginning of this monthe, is now (I thanke God) miraculously good; and indeed the gentlemen in thease partes showes themselfes really affectionat & harty in my service: acting cherfully (without any grumbling) what I desyre. Now I expect, not only that (lyke ants) you haue plentifully prouyded your selfes for winter, but lykewais that you so recrute your selfes in men & armes, that it may be a lusty stocke for a next years army: So I rest,

Your asseured frend,
CHARLES R.

As I haue com'aded my Sone to comend me to all the Laydis, so you must to all the Lords my frends, & particularly to Vulpone, & tell the Gouernor that he has forgotten that he sent me a cyfer.

Doncaster 18o Aug. 1645. R. 23. The King to me.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Huntingtoune 25 Aug: 1645.

Nicholas, I haue this morning receaued yours of the 13: Aug: with fower printed Oxford Papers concerning my published Letters, & am glad to fynde that you there make so faire (indeed just, as concerning my religion, kingdomes & frends) an interpretation of them, & particularly that you haue so great a confidence in my constancy to my just cause: and now me thinkes I wer too blame if I did not justifie the trewth of your opinions concerning me, by my owen declaration, wch is this, that let my condition be neuer so low, my successes neuer so ill, I resolue (by the grace of God) neuer to yeald up this Church to the gouernement of Papists, Presbiterians, or Independants, nor to injure my successors, by lessning the Crowen of that ecclesiasticall & military power wch my predecessors left me, nor forsake my frends, much lesse to lett them suffer when I doe not, for theire faithfulnesse to me, resoluing sooner to liue as miserable as the violent rage of successfull insulting Rebells can make me (wch I esteme far worse than death) rather then not to be exactly constant to thease grounds; from wch, whosoeuer, upon whatsoeuer occasion, shall persuade me to receade in the least title, I shall esteeme him ether a foole or a knaue; but you will aske me, *Quorsum hoc?* Yes, for without this warning, the tender personall affection of some might giue me troblesome aduyce, & yet not blameable, considering the present condition of my affaires, & not knowing this my resolution, wch I comand you to publishe to all whom their quality or judgement makes fitt for such dicourses, & so I rest,

Your most asseured frend,

Charles R.

You may say confidently, & giue me for author, that the peace of Irland is concluded, not yet knowing the particular conditions.

25 Aug: 1645. The King to me from Huntington, containing his resoluc'on never to quit ye Church Gouernement, his friends, or to diminishe the Crowne of that military or eccl'all power wch was left him by his pedecessors.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Ragland * 9 Sep. 1645.

Nicholas, I receaued yesterday bothe of your letters (for I perceaue by their markes, that you haue yet written no more) with the advertisments from London, wch as you say is worthy my notice, but without considering make this answer, that the just contrary, concerning the new discouery of my Com'ission in a letter to the two Queenes† about the Irishe Papists, is trew: for indeed that roag Hartogen made such a foolishe proposition, but it was flatly denyed by me, & (if my memory much faile me not) my Wyfe tooke occasion upon some clause in my answer, wherby it semed to her (in wch she was mistaken) as if I thought she had lyke the proposition, to disclaime any parte in it (so

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* The King's adventures at this antient Castle are too well known to require illustration.

† Queen Henrietta Maria, and her mother the Queen of France, the widow of Henry IV.

far from aprobation) but only the transmitting of it to me, wch certainly was not fitt for her to refuse: & this (with many other ansome expressions of her affection to me, euen to the ventring of being thought a Protestant in condemning the Irish proceedings) was, as I beliue, in that letter wch Tom Elliot deliuered me from her, as I was marching over Broadway Hills the 9 of May last; for I am sure the most of that letter was concerning the Irish business, & I know the reason why the Rebelles haue not printed it is, because it cleers that point more then any of those betweene vs, wch are published: That all this is trew, & that the Rebelles haue all this under my Wyfes hand & myne, I comand you to affirme positiuely in my name upon all occasions of this subject: but it is possible that all I mention to be, is not in the letter Tom Elliot brought me (though I am sure most is), but then it is in some other. So you see cleerly the trewth of this business, by wch, if it be brought to light, (wch I comand you to endeuor, with all possible industry) I must haue honnor; for where my owen justifies me (wch I am sure my Wyfe can produce, lett the Rebells doe what they will) I care not what lyers can inuent in this kynde. For what else remaines unanswered in your two letters I refer you to your fellow Secretary, & rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

R. 24o Sepbris 1645. His Maties ler to me that ye Rebells have not printed some lrs of his Matie & ye Queens wch iustifie their Maties in ye busenes concrning Ireland.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Bridgenorthe 1 Oct. 1645.

Nicholas, none of your letres haue hitherto miscarried, this day having receaued the 12[f] by Wytefoord, & shall at this tyme, more insist upon telling you of my desynes & giuing you directions, then in answers, hauing comanded your fellow Secretary to supply that: first then, (that you may know whither to send to me) I intend my course towards Newarke 437; where I shall take further resolutions according to occasion: Vnderstanding that my 224 : horse 173 : under 293 : 83 : Lo: 36 : 3 : Goring 380 : is lykely to be eather beaten 14 : 37 : 32 : 17 : or 38 : 27 : 242 : starued 53 : 19 : 32 : 2 : 43 : 36 : 84 : where 307 : they 277 : 47 : are 20 : 98 : I haue com'and him 169 : to 290 : breake 14 : 2 : throughe 36 : 33 : 62 : 37 : 60 : 283 : to 290 : me 213 : now they must passe 238 : by 110 : or 232 : neere 226 : Oxon 443 : wherfor my plasure is, that you take that oportunety to 290 : send 264 : D. 125 : of 231 : Yorke 541 : to 290 : me 213 : for since it is the fashion to yeelde 314 : 17 : townes 54 : 68 : 27 : 35 : basely* 52 : 70 : 14 : 33 : 52 : 36 : 207 : none can blame me to venture 43 : 35 : 27 : 19 : my 44 : 3 : 224 : 59 : 39 : children 79 : 4 : 84 : 2 : 36 : in 27 : an 176 : army 95 : 323 : 47 : rather 90 : 2 : 33 : 277 : 3 : 18 : then 39 : 36 : to 27 : be 290 :

* This evidently refers to the King's displeasure against Prince Rupert for the loss of Bristol.

besieged
104 : 60 : 16 : 36 : 52 : 38 : 78 : 24 : 127 : I haue no more to say but that I approue of all your aduyses in your last, & meanes to follow them: one of thease inclosed
the Queene of England
is for 247 : 231 : 363 : the other speakes it selfe. So I rest Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

"For your selfe."

1o Octobr 1645. His Matie to me concerning sending ye D. of Yorke to him by Lo: Goring.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas,

When you shall have considered the strange and most inexcusable deliverye vpp of the Castle and Fort of Bristoll,* and compared it with those many precedinge aduertisments wch have been giuen mee, I make noe doubt, but you and all my Counsell there will conclude that I could doe noe lesse, then what you will finde heere inclosed, in my care of the preseruation of my Sonne, of all you my faithfull servaunts there, and of that importaunt place, my Citty of Oxford. In the first place you will finde a coppy of my letter to my nephew; secondly, a reuocation of his commission of Generall; thirdlye, a warrant to Lieutenant Coll' Hamilton to exercise the charge of Lieutenant Gouernor of Oxford in Sir Thomas Glemhams† absence;

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* Alluded to in the preceding letter.

† The King appears to have reposed great confidence in Sir Thomas Glemham, notwithstanding his surrender of Carlisle on the 28th of June preceding, but not till after a long siege, and

fourthly, a warrant to the sayd Lieutenant Colonell Hamilton to apprehend the person of Will: Legge* present Gouernour of Oxford; and lastlye, a warrant to be directed to what person shall bee thought fittest for the apprehendinge my Nephew Rupert, in case of such extreamitye as shall bee hereafter specifyed, and not otherwise. As for the circumstances and the timinge of the execution of all these particulars, as farr forth as they may admitt of some howres delay more or lesse, I must referr it to my Lord Treasurers† care and yours to aduise of, vpon the place, how it may be done with most securitye, and accordinglye to direct the manner of proceedinge. But yett I shall tell you my opinion as farr forth as I can judge at this distance, wch is, that you should beginne with securing the person of Will: Legge, before any thing be declared concerninge my Nephew. But that once done, then the sooner you declare to the Lords both the revokinge of my Nephews commission, and my makinge Sr Thomas Glemham Gouernour of Oxford, the better. As for the deliuery of my letter to my Nepheu, if hee bee at Oxford, I take the proper time for that to be as soone as possiblye may bee after the securinge of Will: Legge. But if my Nepheu be not there, I would then haue you hasten my letter unto him, and in the meane time putt the rest in execution.

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finally despairing of succour. Indeed, he had distinguished himself, from the first, in the Royal Cause; having been second in command in Yorkshire, under the Earl of Cumberland.

* This is a piece of private history not noticed in the Peerage; but it is incumbent to record that the King's suspicions of his old and faithful friend, the ancestor of the present noble family of Dartmouth, were eventually ascertained to be without the slightest foundation.

† Sir John Culpepper.

The warrant for my Nephews commitment is onlye that you may haue the power to doe it, if in stead of submittinge to, and obeyinge my commaunds in goinge beyond sea, you shall finde that hee practise the raysinge of mutinye or any other disturbance in that place, or any other, in wch case the sayd warrant for his committment is to bee deliuered unto whome you and my Lord Treasurer shall thinke fittest for it to be directed unto, and by that person to be putt in execution. Lastlye I enjoyne you the care to lett all the Lords know, that whateuer is done in this kinde, is out of my tender regard of their safetye and preseruation, and that they shall speedilye receiue for their satisfaction a particular account of the reasons of this necessarye proceedinge. I rest

Your most asseured frend,

Hereford, Sept: 14th 1645. CHARLES R.

Tell my Sone that I shall lesse greeue to heere that he is knoked in the head then that he should doe soe meane an action as is the rendring of Bristoll Castell & Fort* upon the termes it was. C. R.

R: 17o 7bris 1645, by Mr. North. The King to me.

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* The King's anger at the surrender of Bristol is not surprising, when it is recollected that Prince Rupert actually possessed 140 pieces of mounted cannon, 100 barrells of powder, with 2500 foot, 1000 horse, and 1000 trained bands and auxiliaries; but then he had not more than sixteen days provisions for such a force. Indeed the King's feelings at this precise period must have been very bitter; since the immediate and consequent loss of Devizes, Winchester, Basing House, Berkeley Castle, and Chepstowe, reduced his affairs to a situation almost desperate.

Copie of Pr: RUPERTS &c. Petition deliuered at Newarke.*

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^tie,

Whereas in all humility wee came to present our selues this day unto your Ma^tie, to make our seuerall greevances knowne, Wee find we haue drawne upon us some misconstruction by the manner of that, by reason your Ma^tie thought that appeared as a mutiny, Wee shall therefore with all humblenes and carefulnes present unto your Ma^tie, that wee, the persons subscribed, whom from the beginning of this unhappy warre haue giuen such testimony to your Ma^tie and the world of our fidelity and zeale to your Ma^ties person and cause, doe thinke our selves unhappy to lye

* The affair that gave rise to this Petition deserves notice; for the King having at this moment gone to Newark, as a place of the best security, some differences of opinion arose amongst his confidential officers respecting the defeat of Lord Digby at Sherborne, which General Gerard asserted to be the result of treason. Digby's character, however, was supported by Bellasis, the Governor, and several others; but the Princes, Rupert and Maurice, sided with Gerard. At length swords were drawn, and the King rushed in to part them; but when it was found that his opinion was in favour of Digby, Prince Rupert, and 400 of that party, actually threw up their commissions, as Burton declares in his Civil Wars, though this Petition seems to imply positively that their commissions were taken from them.

There appears a strange inconsistency in the accounts given of those affairs by the various contemporary writers of that period. The curious reader will find much amusement in referring to Bulstrode's Memoirs, page 127, et seq.; also to Clarendon, &c. &c.

under that censure; and as wee know in our consciences our selues innocent and free from that, wee doe in all humility therefore (least wee should hazard our selues upon a second misinterpretation) present these reasons of our humblest desires unto your sacred Ma^tie, rather in writing than personnally, which are these:

That many of us trusted in high commands in your Ma^ties service, haue not only our com'ission taken away without any reason or cause expressed, whereby our honors are blemished to the world, our fortunes ruined, and wee rendred incapable of trust or command from any forraigne Prince; but many others (as we have cause to feare) designed to suffer in the same manner.

Our intention in our addressing our selues to your Ma^tie, and our submissiue desires, now are: that yo^r Ma^tie wilbee graciously pleased that such of us as now labour under the opinion of unworthinesse and incapacity to serue your Ma^tie, may at a Councell of Warre, receiue knowledge of the cause of your Ma^ties displeasure, and haue the justice and libertie of our defence against what can be alleaged against us, and in particular concerning this Government; and if upon the severest examinac'on our integrity and loyaltie to your Ma^tie shall appeare, that then your Ma^tie be graciously pleased to grant us, either reparation in honour, against the of our ennemys, or libertie to passe into other partes, which are the humblest desires of

Your Ma^ties

most obedient and loyall subjects and servants.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas, Newarke 10 Oct: 1645.

none of yours haue yet miscarryed, haueing yesternight receaued your 14th letter: before this, I hope, Sr Tho: Glemham will be come to you, whom I have com'anded to take particular care of purging Oxford of mutinus & disaffected persons; & least he should not be bould anufe, hauing yet but a verball com'and, I thinke fitt now, that you should show him this, under my hand, that my pleasure heerein be dewly executed, whomsoeuer it may concerne: As for your Ticket of Accommodation, that I may understand it the better (for it yet seemes to me but an insignificant peece) I com'and you to send me the two Colonels Fox & Murray;* being possible that it may receaue such illumination, by the illustration of circumstances, as what hitherto seemes but a darke chaos, may breake foorth into a *lactea via*, leading to peace:

For what concernes 401 (Will: Legge) : I haue 229 : 511 (no) : 231 (suspicion) : 109 (of) .
305 (but) : 358 (what) : 96 (Lo:) : 316 (Digby) : 166 : 176 : 147 (informed) : 213 : 83 : me,
wch satisfies me as to 305 (what) : 174 (I) : 166 : 122 (have) : 109 (done) : 229 (but) :
17 (not) : beliue 169 (him) : 24 : 43 (guilty) : 78 : 4 : 18 : 79 : 35 : 231 (of) :
521 (trickery) : before I see 221 (more) : 467 (particular) : 72 (proofs†) : 1 : 54 : 57 : 7 : 51 :

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* The whole of this affair is curious, and is very little noticed in the history of that time.

† It is a certain fact, of which the King was afterwards well assured, that the insinuations against Legge's loyalty were founded on falsehood.

Our Northerne newes * we hope to be as good as your Westerne, though yet not so fully ratified, but in confidence 109 : 1 6 : 350 : 29 : 58 : 35 : 277 : thereof 2 : 231 : I 174 : thinke fit to 143 : 290 : advance 87 : 43 : 31 : 27 : 61 : 36 : 10 : a 32 : 20 : daye or 118 : 51 : two's 232 : 568 : march 212 : 60 : and 96 : if 175 : Montrose 417 : be 104 : in 176 : that part 276 : 113 : as 99 : I 174 : hope 172 : he 167 : is 181 : there 30 : 277 : 28 : and I 174 : intend 176 : 19 : 38 : 27 : 85 : 10 : to 290 : 179 : joyne 28 : 37 : 30 : wth 303 : 169 : So hoping shortly to send you more certanty of our good newes, & how I shall dispose of my selfe, then yet I can, I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

This inclosed is for my wyfe 224 : 68 : 47 : 7 : 35.

" For your selfe."

10o 8bris 1645. R: 17. 1645. His Matie to me concerning Coll: Will: Murrey. The 17th of 8ber Col: W. Murrey was sent for by the Lodds, & his Maties pleasure signified to him to attend ye King accordingly.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas, Newarke 16 Oct. 1645.

I haue receaued 17 letters from you, for wch I hartely thanke you, wee being very much cheered by your frequent

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* Alluding evidently to the victory gained by Montrose at Kilsythe in Scotland; but the King's hopes were soon after quashed, when Leslie defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh.

dispaches, wherfor I dout not but you will continew in so doeing: I wrote to you upon Fryday last, wherin there was a letter for my 224 : wyfe 68 : 49 : 7 : 35 : 30 : 300 : and lykewaise in that dispache (I will not say that all was in myne) you were answerd concerning the Gouernor of the Deuyses, & all others in his predicament, as lykewais the L: Hatton: so that now I haue but fower particulars to answer: I begin with the Earle of Norwich* 277 : 126 : 231 : 431 : about whome I embrace and thanke you for your motion, & comand you to send him word accordingly; secondly for Mr. Atturny,† tell him if the Rebelles neuer did but justice or what they had lawfull power to doe, then his answer good, otherwais it is not worthe a button; wherfor if he confesse my power, lett him accept my offer, otherwais I shall know what I haue to doe; as for Rainsford, let the Judges proceede: lastly concerning 200 : the Duke of York 277 : 125 : 231 : 541 : 300 : if (as I hope) 380 : haue 156 : 271 : 176 : 277 : 525 : then 276 : 440 : concerning 169 : 302 : 27 : 54 : 17 : 10 : 163 : 72 : 35 : 28 : 20 : 109 : 175 : 380 : 104 : 374 : 83 : 30 : 290 : 250 : 277 : 525 : 96 : 116 : 290 : 213 : 303 : 170 : 173 : in that case it wer a folly in 213 : 290 : 194 : 224 : 266 : 29 : 36 : 40 : 101 : 443 : in the meane tyme 115 : 58 : 37 : 31 : 4 : 38 : 50 : 305 : I haue written in this 293 : 17 : 78 : 5 : 6 : 60 : 279 : 447 : 79 : 18 : 47 : 136 : 236 : as I haue sayed 109 : 277 : 27 : 70 : 83 : 38 : 59 : 6 : 98 : 35 : 90 : 224 : 302 : 167 : 36 : 1 : 176 : first 290 : 412 : 383 : (174 : 177 : 169 : 276 : 540 : 231 : cyfer 211 : 36 : 10 : 213 :

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* Previously spoken of as General Goring.

† Sir Edward Herbert, Knt.

229 : 18 : 20 : 71 : 2 : 48 : 19 : 30 : 279 : 290 : 169 :)
277 : 27 : 40 : 290 : 277 : 50 : 3 : 37 : 51 : 19 : 90 :
this is all, so I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

settle an intelligence
Methinks you might 51 : 35 : 17 : 4 : 36 : 10 : 31 :
to yᵉ next by London
27 : 391 : 290 : 277 : 525 : 110 : 400 : 300 :

I send you heerewith the trew coppy of an intelligence from neere Ferrebriges, from one who hath the report of a discreet honnest man: by the Army he meanes Digby and Landale,* wᶜʰ part I beliue trew; but for the former, I know the particular of my Wyfe, false: & for the rest, I leaue you to judge, not yet knowing what to say.

341 : 209 : 266 : 27 : 10 : 390 : 51 : 20 : 290 :
151 : 436 : 391 : 148 : 400 : 307 : 147 : 174 : 1 : 35 :
58 : 54 : 75 : 77 : 36 : 28 : 83 : 37 : 169 : 290 : 316 :

16ᵒ 8ᵇʳⁱˢ 1645. R. 22ᵒ. The King to me concerning making yᵉ Earl of Norw'ch Capt: of the Garde, & the Attoʳ Herberts removall.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

my intenc'ons are
Nicolas, : 224 : 176 : 289 : 17 : 180 : 53 : 20 : 98 :
by God's helpe to
(110 : 157 : 29 : 60 : 39 : 36 : 4 : 74 : 37 :) 290 :
breake throughe yᵉ Rebelles
14 : 3 : 37 : 34 : 64 : 38 : 283 : 277 : 475 : 18 :
forces and get to Oxon† to wᶜʰ
374 : 53 : 600 : 96 : 152 : 290 : 443 : 290 : 308 :

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* Sir Marmaduke Langdale.

† To this plan, Bulstrode tells us, the King was led by the

end my passage may
128 : and that 224 : 238 : 52 : 33 : 26 : 37 : 209 :
be wth more ease &
104 : 303 : 221 : 38 : 32 : 52 : 35 : 40 : 96 : 70 :
security
53 : 37 : 59 : 43 : 3 : 79 : 29 : 49 : I would haue
you acquaint the Gouernor with these commands from me;
send all the horse that may be
that he 264 : 86 : 277 : 173 : 276 : 209 : possibly 104 :
spared from Oxon to Banbury
53 : 74 : 34 : 3 : 38 : 84 : 148 : 443 : 290 : 329 :
on Sunday next directions
233 : 554 : 227 : with these 83 : 78 : 2 : 36 : 59 :
to the Comander in
19 : 79 · 233 : 53 : 290 : 277 : 346 : 36 : 3 : 176 :
Cheif keepe scouts
59 : 39 : 36 : 82 : 7 : 38 : that he 183 : 53 : 59 : 56 :
to wards Daventry
44 : 19 : 52 : 290 : 68 : 33 : 2 : 83 : 53 : 70 : 84 : 37 :
&
43 : 38 : 27 : 17 : 3 : 47 : 90 : 96 : 300 : 39 :
Harburrow
34 : 3 : 14 : 46 : 1 : 2 : 56 : 46 : 26 : 42 : 200 :
& diligently hould
96 : 83 : 79 : 6 : 82 : 24 : 37 : 29 : 19 : 207 : 42 :
intelligence with the Gov'nor of
57 : 43 : 4 : 84 : 391 : 303 : 277 : 379 : 232 : 231 :
Belvoir, of what forces
16 : 36 : 4 : 46 : 57 : 79 : 3 : 231 : 305 : 374 : 53 :
ly in partes my resolution
207 : 176 : those 239 : 53 : 224 : 3 : 37 : 266 : 4 :
to goe that
46 : 19 : 180 : being 290 : 24 : 56 : 38 : 276 : 69 :

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circumstance of the rebel army being now in force on the North side of the Trent. The whole of the letter being in cypher is an evidence of the King's great desire for secrecy, and in consonance with the recorded fact, that he imparted his resolution to none, except to two or three of the nearest trust about him.

way if wth any reasonable hazard
34 : 47 : 175 : 303 : 97 : 254 : 88 : 70 : 39 : 34 :
I may passe: but if
2 : 85 : 174 : 209 : 238 : 109 : 175 : Sr Thom:
findes I come not to Banbury
Glemham* 144 : 174 116 : 229 : 17 : 290 : 329 :
by Thursday next come senight
110 : 551 : 227 : 116 : 263 : 27 : 78 : 24 : 42 : 19 :
then he may draw back
277 : 29 : 167 : 209 : 83 : 3 : 34 : 69 : 20 : 16 : 32 :
the horse secrecy
59 : 64 : 277 : 173 : you must remember that 53 : 37 :
in this particular
58 : 1 : 38 : 61 : 49 : 176 : 279 : 239 : 79 : 59 : 43 :
must be your cheifest
4 : 34 : 3 : 215 : 104 : 317 : 59 : 39 : 37 : 78 : 7 :
care tell the
38 53 : 19 : 112 : I will only allow you to 274 : 277 :
Gouernor of it who must be
379 : 232 : 231 : 182 : 320 : 215 : 104 : answerable
discretion &
for the 124 : 59 : 3 : 38 : 17 : 180 : 96 : 80 : 84 : 78 :
dilligence of the person
207 : 24 : 38 : 27 : 58 : 38 : 231 : 277 : 73 : 37 : 3 :
that shall comand those
53 : 233 : 276 : 52 : 39 : 94 : 346 : 17 : 39 : 54 :
horse in cheif
53 ; 38 : 173 : 176 : 58 : 39 : 37 : 78 : 7 : 38 :
so I rest Your most asseured frend,
Charles R.

Newarke 29 Oct: 1645.

Giue me an account of this:

29 8bris 1645. The King to me by Parsons.

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* Then Governor of Oxford.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Edward Nicholas to Sir Henry Vane the Younger. *

Sr,

You cannot suppose the work is donn, though God should suffer you to destroy the King: the miseryes which will ineuitably follow are soe plaine in view, that it is more then necessary some speedy expedient be found for their preuention. Is it not cleere to you (to me it is) that Spaine and ffrance will instantly conclude a peace: and that ffrance makes great preparations to ioyne with the Scotts (when the breach betweene you and them shall happen) whilst Spaine labours to be Protector of Ireland, and will vndoubtedly carry itt. Consider well, whether the season is not proper for this designe, when the wealth of this nation is already so exhausted, and the sufferings of the people soe great, that they are no longer to be supported. This is reason, tis not to cast a bone amongst you: The only remedye is (and it is a safe and honourable one for you) that you sett your selfe, the gentleman that was quartered with you, and all his and your freinds to preuaile, that the King may come to London vpon the termes he hath offered; where, if Presbitery shall be soe strongly insisted vpon as that there can be noe peace without itt, you shall certainely haue all the power my master cann make to ioyne with you in rooting out of this kingdome that tyrannicall Gouernment; with this condition, that my master may not haue his conscience disturbed (yours being free) when that easy worke is finished. Loose not this faire

* This letter is highly deserving the attention of the historian and statesman, and forms a remarkable illustration of the events of that period.

opertunity, the like was never offered, nor euer will be; for itt brings all things of benifitt and aduantage imaginable, both to the generall and to your particular; to him that was quartered with you, and to his & you freinds: and shall be honestly made good. Trust to me for the performance of itt; waigh itt sadly, and againe relye upon me. Bee confident, that neither he that carryes this, nor he that deliuers it to you, knowes any thing of itt. *(Not signed.)*

Written at the bottom by the King.

" This is a trew Coppie of what was sent to Sir Hen. Vane the Younger by my comand. C. R."* March 2, 1645-6.

Indorsed,

2o Martij 1645. By his Maties comaund these are to S. H. Vane sign'd wth ye Kings owne hand.

Copy of another Letter from the King to Sir Henry Vane the Younger.

Sr,

I shall only add this word to what was said in my last: that you hasten my business all that possibly you cann; the occasion lately giuen being fairer than euer, and donn on purpose. Be very confident that all things shall be performed according to my promise. By all that is good, I coniure you, to dispatch that curtoysye for me with all speed, or it will be too late, I shall perish before I receiue the fruits of itt. I may not tell you my necessityes, but if

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* How little effect was produced by this remonstrance, may be easily imagined, when addressed to a man whom De Larrey characterises as " more rigid, more a Presbyterian, and more a Parliamentarian in his sentiments than either Pym, Hampden, St. John, Fiennes, or Hollis! "

it were necessary soe to doe, I am sure you would lay all other considerations aside, and fulfill my desires. This is all: trust me, I will repay your fauour to the full. I have donn. If I haue not an answeare within foure dayes after the receipt of this, I shall be necessitated to finde some other expedient. God direct you, I haue discharged my dutye. *(Not signed.)*

Written at the bottom of this letter by the King.

"This is a true Copie of what was sent by Jack Asheburnham & my comand to Sir Henry Vane the younger. C. R."

The KING'S promise to Mons. DE MONTREUIL concerning those that should come with him to the Scots Army.

I do promise to Mounsieur de Montreull, that none shall come with me to the Scots army, or meet me there, who are excepted by those att London, but only my two nepheues, and Jack Ashburnham.* Notwithstanding, the said Mon-

* The King's confidence in Ashburnham was very great at this crisis. In fact it was a very short time before, that his Majesty was obliged, by the approach of Fairfax, to escape from Oxford in disguise; and this he did as the servant of Ashburnham: after which he joined the Scottish army before Newark. Yet Ashburnham is suspected, with great appearance of truth, of having misled the King when he was taken prisoner in 1648, either through treachery or folly. Bulstrode in his Memoirs, asserts that when the King arrived in great privacy at the house of Lady Southampton, and that Ashburnham went up stairs to his Majesty's bed-chamber and told the King that Colonel Hammond was below at supper, and had given assurance for his Majesty's safety, but not of liberty for his person, the King instantly, with much emotion, struck his hand upon his breast, exclaiming, "And is this all! Then I am betrayed!"

treull is to receaue this my protestation, that all my seruants, and all others who doe adheare to me, shalbe saued from ruine, or any publique dishonour; which is a condition that my wife writt to me that not only she, but likewise Cardinall Mazarine,* were absolutely of opinion that I was sooner to dye, than not to haue. As for Church Gouernement, as I haue already, soe I now againe promise, that assoone as I come into the Scotts army, I shall be very willing to be instructed concerning the presbiteriall gouernement: whereupon they shall see, that I shall striue to content them in any thing, that shall not be against my conscience.

CHARLES R.

Indorsed by Sir Edward Nicholas.

"The King's promise to Monsieur de Montreuil † concerning those that should come wth him to ye Scots army: wch promise was written by Mr. Jo: Ashbournham, and signed by the King; but wthout date."

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* Mazarine had recently become Prime Minister of France, in consequence of the death of Richelieu. The latter bore an implacable malice and hatred to England for her interference respecting the French Protestants, particularly in the affairs of the Isle du Rhe, and Rochelle. It is curious to compare this opinion of Mazarine with the well authenticated fact that, notwitstanding his outward appearance of friendship, he was actually tampering with the Parliament and keping up a good correspondence with them, through the medium of Don Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spanish Ambassador!

† Montreull, or Montreville, seems in this affair to have been the tool of Mazarine in deceiving the King; for all the contemporary writers, Warwick, Bulstrode, &c. assert, that he promised, in the name of the King of France, that Charles should be secure under the protection of the Scottish army.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

New Castle 16 Maij 1646.

Nicholas, since my last I had neither sufficient tyme nor matter to write to you, but now I haue enough of either, yet I shall to ease both our paynes, contract my thoughts, meerely to what is (for the present) necessary for you att Oxford.* ffor directions then, know that you are not to expect releefe, so that I giue you leaue to treate for good condic'ons. Let those of Exeter be your example: the additions must be the taking care particularly of the University, and to trye if you can gett the Duke of Yorke to be sent hither to me, as alsoe all my seruaunts who wilbe willing to come (of wch number I am sure you are one) but feare you will not get leaue, and those goods wch I haue there.

These directions I would haue you keepe very secreat, that you may make better conditions: ffor the number and choyce, I leave to the Lordes discrec'ons (the gouernor

* Oxford was at this moment nearly reduced; so that Sir Thomas Glemham, the Governor, in answer to a summons, asked permission to send a messenger to the King for orders. This, however, was refused by Fairfax, as several historians declare, and the City was delivered up, but not until after a treaty of some weeks continuance, as the City did not surrender until this 24th of June. The facts contained in the indorsements possess considerable interest for the future historian.

When this letter was written the King was with the Scottish army, who had retreated thus far after the surrender of Newark to the Parliament army.

In "Memoirs of the Two last Years of Charles the First," by Herbert, there is an allusion to the King's consent, through the Lords of the Privy Council then at Oxford.

being one), but you must give out that releefe will come. Jack Ashburnham is this day gonne for ffraunce. I haue no more to say, so I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

Indorsed,

"16° Maij 1646. R. 10° Junii & ye next day read to ye Lods. The King to me from New Castle giving leave to treate, &c.

This ltr & that of ye 2d of June were read to all ye Lods and gent. about this towne (Oxford) on Sunday ye 20th of June 1646."

This letter was written in cyfer, but the figures are for the most part blotted or run through with the pen, but are decyphered and filled up by Sir Edward Nicholas.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

New Castell 2 June 1646.

Nicholas, since I saw you, I receaued but one letter from you, wch was of the 5th of May; & this is but the 3rd that I haue written unto you, hauing sent a duplicatt of my last about 9 dayes agoe. For direc'cons, I shall in substance repeate what I last sent you, wch is that, because you are to expect noe releef, I giue you leaue to treate for good condic'ons. Let those of Exeter be your guide, wch I beliue wilbe graunted you, hauing a particular care that my sonne and two nephues haue permission to com to me whersoeuer I shalbe: as lykewais that the freedome of ye University be preserued, & that all my seruaunts, who ar willing, may come to me with the few goods that I haue there. I omitt news att this tyme, because it will doe little

good to you, & troble me; soe comanding you to asseur all my frends, that no change of place shall (make) me alter my affection to them; I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

I aduise excepted persons to agree for Exeter conditions, & for noe better.

When my goods ar sent, forget not all the bookes wch I left in my bedchamber.

Indorsed,

2o Junii 1646. R: 11o, read to ye Ldes ye next day. The King gives leave to treate.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

New Castell 24 June 1646.

Nicholas,

I haue receaued yours of the 6: & 9: of this monthe wch requyres no other answer but thanke you for your intelligence & to comend you for your resolution; only I thinke you needed not to burne my cypher; but howsoeuer lett me heare from you as often as you can, & asseure all my frends that I am constant to all them who will not forsake themselfes, of wch I know you ar none, so that I am

Your most asseured constant frend,

CHARLES R.

In hope my cypher is not sacrifised I desire 209 : 141 : 56 : 63 : 17 : 67 : you 429 : to 360 : send 341 : me 250 : 78 : word 31 : 18 : 81 : where 412 : my 351 : Jewells in : no 418 : 56 : were 111 : wch 413 : I. H. 449 : had, 197 :

and if my Cabinet* wch
112 : 213 : 251 : 90 : or 27 : 40 : 7 : 67 : p : 413 :
I left wth you be burned
209 : 234 : 409 : 429 : 121 : at : ad : 19 : if : 147 :
or not.
281 : 270 :

24o Junii 1646. The K. to me.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

New Castell 16 Aug:

Nicholas, I receaued yours by the last post, whereby I understand what course you intend to take, wch I approue of, yet I thinke it not necessay [necessary] to write to 422 : 360 :
Marq: H. nor Earl of Southampton
550 : 520 : 269 : 17 : 503 : 280 : 356 : 84 : 107 : 43 :
for hauing [erased]
282 : 162 : 200 : 216 : 258 : 133 : 280 : 366 : selfes there 365 : 280 : 251 : 84 : 282 : 7 : 281 : 122 : 431 : 216 : 383 : 251 : 56 : 67 : 46 : 75 : 70 : 59 : 112 : 57 : 78 : 281 : 81 : 360 : 361 : 319 : 27 : 148 : 58 :

Com'end me to all my Frends, & asseure them of my constancy; and I asseure you that I haue sent where you ar goeing, being confident that you will be very well receaued there, so I rest Your most asseured frend,

Charles R.

This inclosed is for 14 : 47 : he : 68 : 21 : 35 : 6 :

16o Aug. 1646. The King to me.†

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* The King's anxiety about his Cabinet is not surprizing, if we recollect the very unhandsome use which had formerly been made of letters seized by the Parliamentary forces; when even the common expressions of conjugal confidence and tenderness were tortured into political crimes, or made the jests of the lowest revolutionary ruffians.

† This part of the correspondence is important, as it took

In the hand-writing of Sir Edward Nicholas.

The Reasons why his Ma^tie thought good to send his Proposition of y^e ... of December, 1645, to London, were, for that

His Ma^tie hath noe Army att all, nor any forces but what are in his garrisons.

Noe meanes or monny either to satisfy or keepe together his officers, or to supply or pay his garrisons, but the contribuc'ons of the country, w^ch being wasted by y^e souldiors of both sides, & extremly disaffected, are reddy every day to rise ag^t his Ma^ties garrisons, as being not able any longer to undergoe the heavy pressures w^ch y^e necessitys of his Ma^ties souldiors & y^e absence of his Ma^ties Governm^t dayly put upon them.

That his Ma^tie having lost Bristoll, hath no meanes to be supplyed from forraigne partes w^th armes or munition, or materialls for making of either, of w^ch he begins alreddy to be in want.

There is noe meanes to raise any considerable forces for an army ag^t y^e next Spring: for that all Wales was lost p^esently after y^e losse of Bristoll, and since that, Munmouth & Hereford.

---

place about the period when the Scottish army were engaged in the negociations for his delivery to the English Rebels. In a Glasgow publication of Original Letters (1766) there is one from a Scottish Commissioner, who observes, "many of the King's greatest friends think his obstinacy judicial, as if in God's justice he were destroying himself." This letter was written on the 7th of August, 1646, at the period when Charles refused to agree to the Scottish propositions.

Chester is in imminent danger to be likewise lost: Newark & Belvoir Castle * are besieged & in danger.

In ye west there are about 5 or 6000 horse & foote, but there are there soe great divisions amongst the cheif officers, and the Councell that attend ye Prince, as for want of condvct these forces are disunited, and ye country soe disaffected to them by reason of the soldiors rapine and oppression, as ye country rises against them whensoever they come into any place not in a body, and the country is soe wasted, as it cannot feede them when they lye together in a body. Besides, the Cornishe will not be drawne further than Devonshe.

Exeter is soe close besieged, as very little or noe p'visions can passe into it, & it is not supplyed for many monthes.†

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* The Earl of Rutland had sided with the Parliament, but Belvoir was garrisoned by the King's forces,

† It has been said by contemporary writers that the King, being now in distress, had no hopes from a proposition to Parliament, but merely complied with the earnest entreaties of his confidential friends. The message, which he sent, was filled with tender expressions respecting the miseries of the nation, of which it manifested a very deep sense, in consequence of the existing civil distractions. It conjured the Parliament, as they would answer it to Almighty God, for all blood spilt, or yet to be shed, and as they tendred the preservation of their religion calling upon them also by all the bonds of duty and allegiance to their King, of compassion for their bleeding country, or charity to themselves, that they would dispose their hearts and judgments towards a just and speedy settlement of affairs; but it answered no other purpose than to draw forth demands even more imperious than those during the Treaty of Uxbridge.

. . . . . is possessed by S^r^ Tho. ffairfax forces, & the King hath in Devon now noe poste but Dartmouth, & there are likewise forces marched thither to blocke it upp.

The Seige of Plymouth is soe weekly prosecuted for want of force as they have lately releeued themselves and burnt some of our quarter neere it.

S^r^ Tho. Fairfax & Crumwell haue lately sent into these p'tes neere 1500 of their best horse, w^ch^ shewes that they are much too strong for his Ma^ties^ forces in those partes.

These Western horse are drawing towards Oxon & are to ioyne w^th^ other forces w^ch^ are to come from London under Coll: Ringingborrow, & all that can be spared from Coventry, Warwick, Gloucester, & Northampton, & out of Buckinghamshire (w^ch^ it is beleeued will in all make noe less than 8000 foote and 4000 horse & dragoons) & ar designd p^e^sently to block upp Oxon att a distance.

Denington Castle is blockt upp by forces that lye in Newberry & the Country thereabouts.

This being his Ma^ts^ p^e^sent condition in England, & there being noe peace concluded in Ireland, nor any considerable forces possibly to be drawne from that Kingdom in any tyme to assist his Ma^tie^:

The Mar: of Muntrosse being still in y^e^ highlands, or noe neerer then Glascoe, & in what condition his Ma^tie^ is not certeynly assured, soe as there is little hope of tymely ayde from him:

From Fra. or Holland there was nothing but faire & fruitless p'misses, they having not in all this tyme afforded his Ma^tie^ any considerable assistance, nor soe much as publickly declared ag^t^ those att London:

Upon these considerations his Ma^tie^ resolved to send to London y^e^ .... P'positions, w^ch^ being as low as he can goe w^th^ p^e^serving of his conscience and hon^r^ he doubts not but

God will give a blessing to y^t his intentions; And that if his s^bts doe not harken to y^e reason he offers, his Allies will consider how farre his interest may worke theirs.

Indorsed, Reasons why his Matie sent his Proposic'ons to London, dated Decr 1646.

The KING to the SPEAKER of the HOUSE of PEERS.

Holmby [Holdenby], 6 Martij. 1646-7.

C. R.

It being now 17 dayes since I wrote to you from hence, & not yet receiuing any answer to what I then desired, I cannot but now again renew the same unto you; and indeed concerning any thing but the necessary duty of a Christian, I would not at this time trouble you with any of my desires. But my being attended by some of my Chaplains,* whom I

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* The sentiments contained in this letter are so completely in unison with those in "Eikon Basilike" (art. 23, 24. pp. 201 to 218, edit. 1648), as to afford proof, if proof were necessary, of the authenticity of that work from the royal pen.

The letter itself was written about two months after the King had been given up to the Parliament, and about three months previous to his seizure by Cornet Joyce, on the part of Cromwell and the army.

A very minute and interesting account of these transactions will be found in Sir Thomas Herbert's Memoirs of the "Two last years" of the unhappy monarch.

There is a remarkable passage, alluding to those circumstances, in a letter from the Earl of Panmure to Lord Wariston, dated 23d January 1647; where he says, "His Majesty is so well resolved now for his going to Holmby as ever I saw him for any thing. He thinks that the Scots have sold him at too cheap a rate. If our posterity find not the smart thereof, it is well."

esteem & reuerence, is that wch is so necessary for me (euen considering my present condic'on, whither it be in relation to my conscience, or a happy settlemt of the present distracc'ons in Religion) that I will slight diuers kinds of censures, rather then not obtain what I demand. Nor shall I doe you the wrong, as in this to doubt the obtaining of my wish, it being grounded upon reason. For I desire you to consider (not thinking it needfull to menc'on) the diuers reasons wch no Christian can be ignorant of, for the point of conscience. I must assure you that I cannot as I ought take into consideration those alterac'ons in Religion wch haue, & wilbe offred unto me, wthout such helps as I desire, because I can neuer iudge rightly of, or be altred in any thing of my opinion, so long as any ordinary way of finding out the truth is denyed me. But when this is granted me, I promise you faithfully not to striue for victory in argumt, but to seeke to submit to truth, according to that judgemt wch God hath giuen me; always holding it my best & greatest conquest, to giue contentmt to my two Houses of Parlt in all things wch I conceiue not to be against my conscience or honr. Not doubting likewise, but that you wilbe ready to satisfy me in reasonable things, as I hope to find in this particular concerning the attendance of my Chaplains upon me.

To the Speaker * of the House of Peers, *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the Lo: & Co'mons in the Parlt assembled at Westm'r.

Indorsed,

6o Mar: 1641. Coppy of ye King's 2d ltr for some of his Chaplaines.

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* Lenthall.

A Memorandum in King Charles the First's own handwriting:

Freedome in Conscience & Honnor and Security for all those that shall come with me, & in case I shall not agree with them, that I may be set doune at such of my Garisons as I shall name to them: wch condition I hope not to put them to, for I shall not differ with them about Ecclesiasticall businesses, wch they shall make apeare to me not to be against my conscience; & for other matters, I expect no difference, & in case there be, I am content to be judged by the two Queenes. And befor I take my jurny I must send to the Marquis of Montrose to aduertice him upon what conditions I come to the Scots Army, that he may be admitted forthwith iuto our conjunction, & instantly march up to us.

Indorsed by Sir E. Nicholas.

"A Note written with ye Kings owne pen concerning his going to ye Scotts."*

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Oatlands, 19 Aug. 1647.†

Nicholas, to ease my paines, I haue comanded Oudart ‡

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* This memorandum throws considerable light upon what may well be considered as the obscurest part of Charles's history during the Civil War.

† It was on the 3d of June that the King was seized by Joyce, and after a desultory progress arrived at Oatlands on the 14th of August; and soon after he removed to Hampton Court.

‡ Oudart was afterwards one of the King's Commissioners

to answer some particulars in your last letter: this being only to thanke you for your aduertisments & freedome: desyring you still to continue the same, asseuring you that I haue a particular care of you, wch I hope shortly shall be visible to all the world: so I rest

Your most asseured constant frend,

CHARLES R.

Oatlands $\frac{2}{12}$ Aug. 1646.
His Maties ltr to me.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas,

Yor fidelity & industry in our seruice & eminent affec-c'ons to our person, haue made in us too great an impression to be forgotten; on the contrary you must continue in this confidence, that we very highly retaine you in our value & remembrance, as you will finde if it please God to restore us to a condic'con for it. As an earnest whereof at present you will receive herewith a direction to our dearest Sonn the Prince on your behalfe, whom as we know you will serue with the same duety and zeale as you haue serued us, so will he assuredly giue you that reception & admission to his confidence wch you haue had with us. We thanck you for yor severall letters & aduises, and are very tenderly sensible of yor pressures, and if you could gett them removed by the help of friends, we thinck you would do well not to neglect so doing in respect of yor family, there

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in the Conferences at Newport with the Parliamentary agents. In such confidence was he with the King as to be employed during that treaty in writing his private dispatches to the Prince of Wales. Vide Warwick's Memoirs, p. 325.

being no certainty yet what successe will follow this Treaty. That Providence wch permits these afflictions to lye upon Us, We trust will yet in good time take them off. Doe you continue yor affections towards Us, not doubting of the constant fauor to you & yors of

Your most asseured Frend,

CHARLES R.

From Newport in ye Isle of Wight 24 Novemb: 1648.*
To Secr: Nich'as.

His Maties Farewell Speech unto ye Lords Com'ssioners at Newport in ye Isle of Wight.†

" My Lords,

You are come to take your leaue of mee, and I beleeue wee shall scarce euer see each other againe:—but Gods will be done. I thank God I haue made my peace wth him, & shall wthout feare undergoe what he shall please to suffer men to doe unto mee.

My Lords, you cannot but knowe that in my fall and ruine you see yor owne, and that alsoe neere to you. I pray God send you better frends then I haue found.

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* The several historical facts, to which this letter refers, are too well known to require commentary; but the letter itself is of consequence to Sir Edward Nicholas's claim on the patronage of Charles II. alluded to in a subsequent letter to the Monarch respecting the office of Secretary; and illustrates the political character of that Monarch.

† The Commissioners were the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Middlesex; Viscount Say and Sele; Lord Wenman; Messrs. Pierpoint, Hollis, Crew, Bulkeley; Sirs Henry Vane, jun., Harbottle Grimstone, and John Potts; Serjeants Glynne and Browne, and some others.

I am fully informed of ye whole carriage of ye plott against me & myne, and nothing soe much afflicts mee as the sense and feelinge I haue of ye sufferings of my subjects, and ye mischief that hangs ouer my three Kingdomes, drawne upon them by those who (upon pretences of good) violently pursue their owne interestes and ends."

These words his Matie deliuered wth much alacrity and cheerefullnes, wth a serene countenance, & carriage free from all disturbance.

Thus he parted wth ye Lords leauing many tender impressions (if not in them) yet in ye other hearers.*

His Maties farewell Speech to the Lodes at Newport 1o Dec. 1648.

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* This conference took place almost immediately before the King's being put to death, an event so pointedly referred to in a work recently published in the United States, that an extract from it cannot fail to be interesting. The author, the Reverend Doctor Stiles, President of Yale College, in his History of Three of the Judges of Charles II. first published in 1794, remarks, in allusion also to the French Revolution—" The era is now arrived, when tribunals for the trial of delinquent Majesty, of Kings and Sovereign Rulers, will be provided for, in the future politics and constitutions of Sovereignties, Empires, and *Republics:* when the heroic and high example of doing justice to criminal royalty, of the adjudication of a King, will be recurred to and contemplated with justice and impartiality. And, however it has been overwhelmed with infamy for a century and a half, will hereafter be approved, admired, and imitated; and the memoirs of those suffering exiles will be immortalized with honour."—Dr. Stiles was not half so good a conjurer as old Grebner!

Sir, Paris,* Nov. 6, 1649. St. No.

To giue you an account of the vastnesse of this packett, give me leaue to tell you, that together with this booke wch I send you, there came in half a score persons of consideration, who with very much passion desired me to represent to Jersey, the high indignity by this base edition † offered to our blessed Master, and the great injury rendered to his Majesty that now is.

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* Charles, at the period of his father's murder, was at the Hague with his brother in law, the Prince of Orange; after which he went to France to join his afflicted mother; but having been proclaimed King throughout Ireland, with the exception of Dublin and Londonderry, he would have proceeded there, had he not been forewarned that such a procedure would produce much alarm among the Protestant friends to his cause. He therefore went no farther than Jersey, where he was proclaimed King, a short time previous to the date of this Remonstrance.

† If it were necessary to enter upon the controversy respecting the authenticity of "Eikon Basilike," this letter might be adduced as a proof against Bishop Gauden's claim to that work. The wish here expressed was not fulfilled specifically; though afterwards in some measure gratified by the publication of "Eikon Aklastos" in 1651, as a vindication of the original work against the attacks of "Eikonoklastes."

This letter was written by Sir Edward Nicholas during his retreat from England, after the death of his royal master. He appears to have then been resident with his son in law, Sir Richard Browne, who still remained Chargé d' Affaires at the French Court.

The inquisitive reader will find some interest in comparing this letter with the very copious and impartial essay on this subject by Mr. Nichols, in "Literary Anecdotes," vol. I. p. 522.

You will finde a preface to this Booke, wch tends to proue that our blessed Master might be, nay perhaps was, a Papist in his heart, notwithstanding this Booke. That what instructions & com'ands were giuen to his Sonne for his firmenesse to the Protestant religion, were giuen out of politique considerations meerely, and many other particulars, wch I hope will bring it to the hands of the common-hangman.

This Marsys is one who setting out the tryall of the late King, and ye manner of his murther, stiles himselfe "Interprete et Maistre pour la langue Françoise du Roy d' Angleterre regnant à present et de son Altesse Royale le Duc d' Yorke son frere," in wch Booke he stiles Queene Elizabeth (of euer blessed memory) Jezabell. He setts downe a false and faigned speech of the King's at ye time of his being murthered; & being charged with it, he said he thought fitt to make that speech as spoken by him, since the speech he did make was poore and below a King. He hath sett forth diuers other things, an extract whereof I shall shortly send you, the least of wch would deserve a whipping in England in good times to speake moderately. I pesume you will giue this busines a thorough sifting there in councell, and send some directions to Sr Rich: Browne how to proceede here; that it may appeare who sett him on worke here, and who giues him these exact coppies, wch he pretends to haue under ye King's owne hand, and those other peeces of the King's, wch he so braggs of, and promises he will bring them to light, so soone as he obtaines leaue to publish them. I hope some course wilbe taken that he may be discharged of his titles of relation to the King, and that his Maty will hereupon giue order, that a true coppy may be printed in french of his Father's Booke, declared by him to be authentique, waving both the editions either

of Huguenot or Papist, and that this command be grounded upon the ill editions of both these persons and partys.

Indorsed, "6o Novem: 1649. Concerning Marseis his translac'on of the King's booke."

Sir Edward Nicholas to King Charles the Second.

May it please yor Matie,*

I came to yor Matie out of duty to serve you if I could, not out of designe to gaine preferment, & thoughe I understood well, that yor Maties Privy Councell here was neither of number or weight equall to ye importaunce of yor Maties affaires, yet yor Matie being then resolved to goe for Irland (where I conceaved there would be an addition of Councellors answearable to ye weight of yor affres) I did ye more willingly tender my humble services here.

But since its not now councellable for yor Matie upon yr change of yor busines in Irla: to goe thither, I held it my duty humbly to advise you, that I find yor affres of soe great importaunce, & of such a nature, as (in my poore iudgemt) it will not be possible for you to man'age ye same wthout a steddy, setled, & more full Councell of able, graue & experienced p'sons of unblemished integrity, whose honor, esteeme, fidellity, & prudence may raise ye reputac'on of yor Councell from that greate contempt it lyes under both at home and abroade; & whereby forraigne Prces may be encouraged to assist yor Matie, & yor Royall party in Engl: to appeare more vigorously for you.

D.Richmond
Ea: Arundell
Ea: Derby
Ea: Norwich
E. South'ton.
Sir Art.Hopton.
Mr.Cha:Exch.
L'd Hatton.

If for want of such a setled & holee Privy Councell, yor Matie shalbe necessitated (as lately) to call (upon every

* Written by Sir Edward Nicholas, and alluded to in a former note.

important occasion) such to Councell who are not sworne, it will not much satisfy yo^r^ party in Engla: nor advantage yo^r^ aff^res^. Besides yo^r^ Privy Councell wilbe att a great disadvantage, when they are to give their advise upon oath, & are by y^e^ same obliged to be secreat, & y^e^ others shalbe att liberty & under noe tye att all.

My humble advise therefore is, that yo^r^ Ma^tie^ forthw^th^ endeavour by all meanes possible to get a Councell composed of a convenient number of such ho^ble^, experienced, & faithfull p'sons, as may be equall to y^e^ great importaunce of yo^r^ p^esent aff^res^, & above y^e^ contempt that yo^r^ now Councell lyes under, aswell in yo^r^ owne Court, as abroade, w^thout w^ch^ it will not be possible for you to goe throughe yo^r^ greate businesses.

As for my owne particular,*

I humbly beseech yo^r^ Ma^tie^ to give me leave to put you in minde, that att St Germains y^r^ Ma^tie^ comaunded me to wayte on you in this place, where you were pleased to tell me you should have occasion to make use of my service as Secre'^ie^, & to that end yo^r^ Ma^tie^ comaunded me to gett

* De Larrey, a French historian of those times, says of Sir Edward Nicholas, that he had much better qualities and more zeal for the late Monarch, than the preceding Secretary of State, Windebank. He adds, that he was truly devoted to the Church of England; and having, besides, as much integrity as ability, he was as faithful to the son as to the father. "Charles II. recompensed his fidelity, and restored him, in 1658, to the post that his father had given him; if this employment was honourable to him, all the profit redounded to the King, who conferred it on him not till he left France, and when he was a wanderer from Court to Court, and from country to country." But this was precisely agreeable to the Royal promise; as appears from Charles's reply.

prepared a signet, and other provisions fitting, wch accordingly I p'vided att my owne cost. I was there further tould from yor Matie, that when I came to Jersey, I should be sworne Sec'rie. And since I came hither, yor Matie tould me I should be sworne, as soone as I came into Irla: Now since yor Matie goes not for Irla: I humbly desire that I may be sworne before yor Maties dep'ture from hence:

1. Because, I know ye busines belonging to a Sec'rie of State ought not to be p'formed by one that is not sworne in ye place.

2. For that ye busines I shall doe (not being sworne), will not have that creddit & esteeme, as is requisitt for ye advantage of affaires of that nature.

3. That it wilbe a great disrepute for me (who have had the honor to serve yor Royale father 7 yeares in that office) to execute any considerable p'te thereof, & not be established in it by oath, wch only can make a man capable of p'formaunce of the duty of that place, as it ought to be.

Yor Maties obiection, that if you sweare me, you must doe ye like for Mr. Long,* is rather a discouragement then satisfac'con to me, who did hope my soe long faithfull service to yor Royall father would have mov'd yor Matie to

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* Mr. Long was only engaged by Charles in a private capacity, and during the interregnum; his name is not entered upon any of the lists of office.

The King seems to have had a personal attachment towards Mr. Long. It is, perhaps, not irrelevant also to observe, that if the handwriting of the two rival Secretaries had been allowed any weight in the discussion of the question, Mr. Long would have been a successful opponent of Sir Edward; his mode of writing being nearly equal to copper-plate printing, whilst that of the latter is often scarcely intelligible.

make more difference betweene us, since I have hitherto (I thanke God) carryed a cleere reputac'on in all my wayes.

Wherefore its my most humble suyte, that yo^{r} Ma^{tie} wilbe pleased either to give order that I may be sworne yo^{r} Ma^{ties} Sec'rie (whereby I may be enabled to doe you service), or else that I may have leave wth yo^{r} Ma^{ties} gracious favour, to retire untill my faithfull & disinterested service may be of more use in yo^{r} Ma^{ties} affaires.

" For yo^{r} Ma^{tie}."

Indorsed, " Je lis ce papier au Roy a Jersey 31 de Janvier. St. V^{x} 1649."

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Charles R.

In regard of our many great & weighty businesses, Wee are resolved & promise wth all convenient speede to increase the number of Our English Privy Councellors in a considerable proporc'on answerable to y^{e} importaunce of our affaires.

Wee are alsoe resolved principally to make use of & rely on, the faithfull advise of our sworne Privy Councell in y^{e} managem^{t} and determinac'on of our important affaires.

Wee likewise resolve & promise, to sweare and establishe S^{r} Edw: Nicholas in y^{e} office and place of one of our principall Secritaries of State, the first man Wee admit to or constitute in that office, and as soone as Wee shall dismisse Rob^{t} Long from our service. Given at our Court att Castle Elizabeth in our Island of Jersey the 14-24th of ffebr: 1649-50.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

St. Johnstons: Sept. 3, 1650.*

Mr. Secr: Nicholas, I haue giuen this bearer his dispatch, and haue signed all the Commissions, with 53 blankes wch I desire you to fill up as you shall haue occasion, there are two com'issions for Marq: Hertford 445 : 388 : that if one should miscarey the other might serue. I haue sent you here inclosed a letter of credance to the Prince of Orange,† that if you should haue occasion of his assistance you may use it; but pray have a care that you doe not press him about money, for I haue had so much from him allready that it were a shame to seeke more of him. This bearer will acquaint you with my condition much better than I can doe in a letter, I shall only say this to you, that you cannot imaien the vilaney of the (illegible) & 245 x3 : 160 : m8 : 8 : 191 : w5 : 175 : m9 : t6 : p : 64 : 49 : their v6 : 104 : 47 : party 213 : 7 : indeed it has done me a greate deale of good, for nothing could have confirmed 138 : 81 : 109 : 14 : 12 : 2 : me 170 : more 13 : 220 : to 242 : the 245 : bb :

* Written during Charles's visit to Scotland, when he was crowned King. It was on this day that the Scots were defeated at Dunbar. Charles went to Scotland in June; and towards the latter end of July Cromwell took the command of the English Army in that Kingdom.

Charles sailed from Schevling in Holland, in the preceding June, and landed at Spey, in Scotland, soon after. On the 15th of July he was proclaimed at Edinburgh Cross; and afterwards proceeded to St. Johnstone's, which place had been appointed for the meeting of the Scottish States.

† Father of William the Third.

Church of England here
254 : 73 : n8 : 349 : 153 : then being x9 : 26 : 139 :
seing theire hippocrisy*
69 : t3 : 151 : w5 : s3 : c4 : 20 : q6 : 75 : h : 8 :
the D: of Yorke's Lo: Gerrard's
v2 : I shall send 245 : 575 comission and 374 : 49 : by
Oudart, who I will dispatch within this 2 or 3 days. I had
allmost forgot a bussines of great importance, it is to speke
a smack
to the Pr: of Orange to send hether 218 : 30 : 4 : 169 :
or a herring buss w^th five
44 . 38 : n7 : 12 : e8 : gg : w : 5 : 262 : 111 : x2 :
or six men to lie here pre to
190 : 229 : 39 : 19 : w2 : k4 : 33 : f5 : r4 : 240 :
n di n g it is to carrey ouer
25 : yy : 45 : 34 : 145 : g5 : 242 : 80 : s3 : 7 : p7 :
a messenger when there
64 : 30 : 170 : 228 : 45 : d4 : 14 : x7 : aq : w5 :
is oecasion
220 : 147 : 477 : I being at the charge of keeping them
I would have the vessel
when they are here. 141 : z3 : 138 : 245 : r8 : x2 : 4 :
come to Montrose
228 : 24 : 44 : nn : 47 : w2 : 171 : m6 : 222 : t3 :
320 :† I would haue you and Mr. Atorney to stay in
holland as being the place that is the neerest to this King-
dome and where I shall haue occasion of your services:

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* This is a new fact for the Writers of Scottish History. The report also that Charles was forced to perform public Kirk-penance by the Presbyterians, is mentioned in a ludicrous manner in a Letter from the Elector of Bavaria to the Queen of Bohemia, preserved in Bromley's Royal Letters, page 153.

† This plan is a manifest proof of the little reliance which Charles placed upon his Northern friends. Whether he doubted their power or their loyalty does not exactly appear; but it is evident that he wished to ensure the means of escape, independent of their exertions in his favour. The whole Letter is a good commentary upon the histories of that period.

I have no more to say to you at the present but to assure that I am and euer will be

Your most affectionate friend,

CHARLES R.

The KING to Mrs. TWISDEN.

Taken from a Copy.

Mris Twisden,

Hauing assurance of your readines to performe what I desired of you by my Letter of the 7th of February from Jersey, according to your Brothers promise, in order to the conveying to me the George and Seales left me by my blessed Father, I haue againe imployed this bearer (in whom I haue very much confidence) to desire you to deliver the said George and Seales into his hand for me, assuring you, that as I shall haue great reason thereby to acknowledge your owne and your Brothers civilitys and good affections, in a particular soe deerly valued by me, soe I will not be wanting, when by Gods blessing I shall be enabled, deseruedly to recompence you both for soe acceptable a service don to

Your louing friend,

CHARLES R.

St. Johnston, 2 8ber 1650.

The KING to Mr. WILLIAM HINTON.

Taken from a Copy.

Mr. William Hinton,*

Your many faithfull services done to my deere Father of blessed memory and to my selfe, & the constant continuance

* This Letter confirms the suspicion, hinted at in the preced-

in your loyall affections to my just cause, are soe very remarkable, as I shalbe euer mindfull to acknowledge them, and to gratify and reward you for them. The condition of my affaires requiring that a considerable sum'e of money be speedily sent into Holland, I doe at present desire you by such private meanes as you shall conceiue most safe, to conveye or returne thither by bills of exchange for my use, such sumes of money, as either you haue or shalbe able to procure by loane, or otherwise, of my well affected subjects, towards my supply: and as I doubt not you will comply with all readines & industry with this my desire, soe I will that you assure all those who shall contribute to y^e^ support of my occasions, y^t^ I shall willingly repay them, when God shall enable me, and also further recompence them to their content: and will particularly consider you for the paines you shall imploy herein as a service very acceptable to

Your louing friend,

CHARLES R.

St. Johnstons, 2. 8^ber^ 1650.

The KING to Sir JOHN GREENVILLE.

Taken from a Copy.

S^r^ John Greenvile,* considering how important it would be for the good of my affaires to haue a body of men in a readines to countenance any attempt that shall be made by my good subjects in the West,† for recovering my just

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ing note, that Charles was more anxious for a safe escape to the Continent, than sanguine of success from the state of affairs in Scotland.

* He was afterwards Earl of Bath.

† This Letter was written at the period when Charles, weary

rights, their owne libertys, and suppressing the present barbarous and bloody Vsurpers, especially in a place soe neere and opportune for the seconding any such enterprize as that under your charge; I haue thought good to desire and require you, to gather & entertaine as many souldiers, and to prouide what store of armes & munition you can possibly, and as may consist with the necessary subsistence of y^e^ garrison under your com'and, to be ready to be seasonably transported on any good occasion: In w^ch^ busines soe highly conducing to the good of my seruice, as I am very confident your particular relation and affection to my person and interests will prompt you to imploy your utmost industry and assistance, soe you may rest assured, that w^t^ you shall therein performe shall ever be acknowledged on any seasonable occasion that may manifest your deserts and y^e^ esteeme and kindnes I haue for you, who am

Your loving friend,

CHARLES R.

St. Johnstons, 2 Oct. 1650.

The KING to Sir RICHARD GRENVILLE.

Taken from a Copy.*

S^r^ Rich: Greenville, though it be not seasonable for me to giue powers to any to appeare for me, in regard of the

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of that particular Scottish faction which kept him enthralled, was engaged in a plan to join the opposite party, but was prevented by actual force. There is a letter of Abraham Cowley to Lord Arlington, in the Miscellanea Aulica, p, 152, which gives an interesting detail of those events.

* This Letter is highly deserving of notice, as a proof both of the good policy and of the good heart of the youthful Mo-

diverse affecc'ons and dispositions of ye people I haue to deale with in the present conjuncture of my affaires, yet I held it requisite to cherishe the good affecc'ons of those who haue the like kindnes for me as I haue observed in you, desiring you to continue constant therein, and to keepe your selfe in readines for my imployments when it shalbe seasonable, and in the meane time not only to be your selfe very secret and circumspect in what concernes my interests, but by all meanes to procure that all others be soe likewise, least if the Rebells shall discerne and appehend any disposition & intention in any of my good subjects to assist me, they shall, to pevent the same, use violence on those that are best inclined to my service. I haue soe great confidence in your affection as I am assured of your readines, and when there shalbe a fitt opportunity you shall be sure to heare from

Your very louing friend,

CHARLES R.

St. Johnstons, 2d of 8ber 1650.

The Duke of YORK to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Sir Edw. Nicolas, though I haue much desired your company and aduise, yet not with the hinderance of the Kings seruise, nor your one inconvenince: but that now vpon the death of the Prince of Orange I haue more neede of your councell then euer, which I desir you to comunicat to me by letter or any other waye as you shall thinke fitt. I desire you also to moue my Lord Culpeper* for monye

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narch. Shortly after this he lost a warm friend in the Prince of Orange, who died on the 24th of this month.

* The first peer of that name. He supported the King's

to defray the charges of the Kings horses; as well for the Kings honor, as to preserve 3 of the best of them for the Kings use. I desire you would aduise me wheither I may not presse my Lord Culpeper to lend me 1500 or 2000 Pounds, to be repayd if the King allow it not: the wanting of those supplies which I expected from the King and the Prince of Orange enforces me to this councell, wherein I desire your assistance with my Lord Culpeper if you aproue of it: desiring you to beleiue that I shall euer be

Your very affectionat friend,

JAMES.

Bruxells, Nouem: 12. 1650.

Indorsed by Sir E. Nicholas.

2-12o Nobris 1650. R. 8-18o. The D. of Yorke from Bruxells to me.

Copie of ye DUKES letter to my Lord CULPEPER.

My Lord, the Kinges horses are to be sold for money to pay for their meat. Some of them are much pris'd by his Maty, and cannot be sold to their worth: therefore I desire that you would laye downe the money due for their charges, so that the Kinges honor may be preserued, and the best of ye horses still kept for ye Kings use: wth wch I am sure his Matie wilbe well pleased.

I rest your louinge friend,

Bruxells, Novemb. 12, 1650. JAMES.

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cause with great loyalty during the whole of Civil War, and was an exile, for twelve years, with Charles the Second; on whose Restoration he was made Master of the Rolls.

The Duke of York to Sir Edward Nicholas.*

Sir Edw. Nicholas, I haue receiued yours of the 8. of Nouember from the Hage, and with it that from Dicke Fanshaw, and I haue as you desired me lett the King know why I had you not heare with me, which he knows very well was not your fault, and I am sure he is well satisfyde with you, and has the same esteeme he always had for you, of which I am confident before this tyme you haue knowledge of in his hauing sent for you to come heither to him, which makes mee now that I shall not say any thing more to you, because I hope to see you shortly, till when you may assure your selfe that I shall euer be

Your most assured freind,

Paris, Nou. 18, 1651. James.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Paris, April 6, 1652.

Mr. Sec. Nicholas, I haue receaued yours of the 28 of the last month, and doe very well approue of your sending me intelligence in your letters to the Chancelour,† by whom you shall againe receaue my pleasure, and information of all my purposes and resolutions, and directions concerning your selfe, wch the unsetlednesse of my condition heitherto

* This letter was written after the unfortunate battle of Worcester, fought on the 3d of September. It was on the 2d of November that Charles landed in Normandy.

† The Earl of Clarendon; but he is not marked on the lists as Chancellor until 1658: the Great Seal effectively being at that period in commission.

hath kept me from sending so positiuely to you, as I hope shortly to doe. In the meane time assure your selfe I rely upon noe mans fidelitie and affection more then on yours, and you shall allwais find me to be

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

The Princess Dowager of ORANGE to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Breda, 21 July, 1653.*

Mr. Secretarie, I haue been so long without giuing you thanks for all y^r^ letters, that if I did not hope you would not impute it to neglect, I should not know which way now to desire you to continu, but your knowing how little I loue this exercise will (I dout not) justifie mee enough in y^r^ opinion. I am very vnsertain of my stay here, because it depends vpon his Majestis remoue,† who I wish with all my hart would not come into thesse parts till hee sees what becoms of the treatty, for I do much aprehend at last thay

* From the Princess Dowager of Orange, in reference to the Treaty then pending between Holland and the English Commonwealth. The negociations were finally settled on the 5th May, 1654.

† Charles the Second was then at Paris. From a letter written by Abraham Cowley to Lord Arlington very soon after this period, it appears that the King's dependance on Dutch friendship was greater than his sister's, as he believed the eagerness to conclude a treaty with Cromwell was not the wish of the States, but merely of a party which then was predominant. Vide Miscellanea Aulica, p. 158.

will agree: the Hollanders desiring nothing more. By this imagine how ill his Ma^ties receiption will bee: Pray let mee know your opinion of this, and whether you beleeue ther will be a peace, which in doing you will much oblige

Your affectionate friend,

MARIE.

The KING to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Paris, Sept: 28, 1653.*

Nicholas, I am very well pleased with the paines I perceaue by your letters to the Chancelour you take in my seruice, and you must upon all occasions lett those good men know, who communicate freely with you, that I am very sensible of their affections to me w^ch I will requite when it shall be in my power: I am exceedingly troubled at any factions and iealosyes amongst those who wish me well, and will use all my power to compose them, and if you meete with any who have hearetofore bene averse to those wayes, w^ch haue bene most conducinge to my seruice, or bene opposite to that party w^ch hath bene most tender of me, you may confidently assure them, if they haue now changed ther mindes, I will be there harty frind, and be very carfull to aduance there interest, and to requite there good will: In the particular w^ch you and S^r M. L: haue consulted, I thinke best to acquiesse in that generall,

* This letter was written only a few weeks previous to Cromwell's assumption of the Protectorate. The initials in the latter part evidently refer to Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Mons. Befort.

untill there shall be some declaration of at least an inclination towards me, and you shall let Mon^r Be: (to whom you are to commende me kindly) know that I shall then make it appeare, that it is in my power to add more strenght to those states then is imaginable: if you haue interest in any discreete person who is a confident of Count Williams, I would be glad he should know, that I haue great kindnesse for him, and doe much depend upon his good will and frindshipe to me in all my concernements, as indeede I do;* proceede as you haue begun, w^ch is very acceptable to

Your constant louing frind,

CHARLES R.

Copie of the KINGS (CHARLES II.) Letter to the Duke of GLOCESTER, concerning his being tempted to turne Papist.

Deare Brother, Cologne Nov: 10: 1654.†

I have receaued yo^rs without a date in w^ch you tell me that Mr. Montague has endeauord to pervert you from yo^r religion. I doe not doubt but you remember very well y^e com'ands I left w^th you at my going away concerning y^t

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* The King's mode of expression with respect to Count Williams is extremely remarkable. It seems as if policy had taught him sometimes to express favour and affection to those for whom he had a very different feeling, and towards whom, the addition of "as indeede I do" would not have been strictly consistent with truth.

† The King left Paris for Cologne on the 18th of October, and there he received much attention and kindness from the Princes of Germany.

point. I am confident you will observe them: yet yo^{r} letters that come from Paris say that it is y^{e} Queenes purpose to do all shee can to change yo^{r} religion,* in w^{ch} if you do hearken to her or any body els in that matter, you must never thinke to see England or mee againe, & w^{t}soeuer mischiefe shall fall on mee or my affaires from this time I must lay all upon you as being y^{e} only cause of it. Therefore consider well what it is to bee not onely y^{e} cause of ruining a Brother that loves you so well, but also of yo^{r} King & Country. Do not lett them p'suade you either by force or faire p'mises; for the first they neither dare, nor will use, and for the second, as soone as they have perverted you they will haue their end, and then they will care no more for you. I am also informed y^{t} there is a purpose to putt you into y^{e} Jesuits' Colledge, w^{ch} I command

* In some private instructions given by the King to the Duke of York, and dated the 13th July, 1654, there is a passage which confirms Charles's anxiety about his brother, and strongly marks the Queen's breach of promise on this subject. "I have told you that the Queen hath promised me concerning my brother Harry in point of religion, and I have given him charge to inform you if any attempt shall be made upon him to the contrary; in which case you will take the best care you can to prevent his being wrought upon, since you cannot but know how much you and I are concern'd in it." Vide Miscellanea Aulica, p. 108. The "Mr. Montague" alluded to was Walter Montague, who had lately entered into Priest's orders, and, upon the death of Father Philips, became the Queen's confessor. Carte, in his Life of Ormond, speaks of his "busy temper, spiritual pride, and furious zeal;" vide vol. II. p. 163. Some further particulars of this bigoted Abbot of Pontoise, who was second son of the Earl of Manchester, may be found in page 676, vol. II. of the Sidney Papers.

you upon y^e^ same grounds neuer to consent unto. And when soever any body shall goe to dispute w^th^ you in religion doo not answeare them at all. For though you haue the reaso' on yo^re^ side, yett they being prepared will haue y^e^ aduantage of any body y^t^ is not upon y^e^ same security that they are. If you do not consider what I say unto you, Remember the last words of yo^re^ dead Father, w^ch^ were to bee constant to yo^r^ religion & neuer to bee shaken in it. W^ch^ if you doe not obserue, this shall bee y^e^ last time you will heare from

(Deare Brother)

yo^r^ most affectionate brother,

CHARLES R.

The Queen of BOHEMIA to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.*

Mr. Secretarie, I ame verie glade to finde by your letter that you are safelie arriued and all your companie at Aix,† and that you found the King and my Neece‡ so well in health and so kinde one to the other, which has euer bene so since I haue knowen them. I beleeue indeed the seperation will be hard, but when there is no remedie one must

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* Written by the Queen of Bohemia, sister to Charles the First. This, and several others, are very interesting specimens of her Majesty's style of epistolary correspondence. She seems to have possessed an admirable facility of introducing a greater variety of persons and things into a smaller space than falls to the lot of mankind in general. In short, her letters in this volume form an interesting commentary upon the grave affairs of that important period.

† Aix-la-Chapelle.

‡ Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans.

be content. As for my iourney up hill I cannot tell what to say to it, Sr Charles Cottrell * shall informe you how it goes but slowlie on, and which is stranger that it is not my fault. Dr. Morley has made a verie good description of the Queene of Sweden:† she gaue an assignation to the French Ambassadour to meet her at Breda, whither he went, and so did the Prince and Princess‡ of Tarente and most of our French gallants, who came all sneaking home againe,

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* He is repeatedly mentioned in letters from the Elector Palatine to his mother, preserved in Bromley's Collection; and appears to have been attached to the personal service of the Queen of Bohemia.

† The far-famed Christina. It was in this year that she abdicated the Throne. There were several personal squabbles between the Ex-Queen of Sweden and the Ex-Queen of Bohemia; and the former felt a considerable jealousy of Elizabeth, who at this period was the correspondent of Des Cartes and of William Penn. Christina, even after her abdication, still attempted to mingle in politics. She even affected to treat and negociate with Cromwell. She also offered several personal slights to the Queen of Bohemia: which may account for the manner in which she is spoken of upon several occasions.

‡ Her Majesty's spleen against Christina seems to have affected her feelings even towards her own relations; for Emilia, Princess of Tarente, was daughter of William, Elector of Hesse Cassel, whilst Charles, the Elector Palatine, son to the Queen, was married to Charlotte, another daughter of the Hessian Elector. The Prince was Henry Charles de la Tremouille, then in the service of the States, and in command of the Hessian cavalry. His connexion with these august families procured him to be chosen a Knight of the Garter in 1653, along with the young Duke of Gloucester.

for her greefe was so great for the beating of the Spanish armie before Arras * as she would not goe to Breda. She sent another account than that to the Ambassadour as you may imagin, but the Landgrave writt the truth to his neece the Princess of Tarente. We haue yet heere no particullars of this defeat, but in generall it is a verie great one. I long to heare what part my godsonne had in it, for I still thinke of him, being my cheefest comfort next your excellent Master. I ame verie glad your daughter is so well,† I doe not wonder at it, she is soe well vsed, and now she has her father with her she is the more content, and I take it verie well that all this makes her not forget her frends heere. I assure you I long to haue her heere againe. I am verie sorie for poore Killegrew,‡ she was a verie good gentlewoman. You will heare by Mris Howards letter howe great a scape my little Nephue escaped yesterday vpon the bridge at the Princess of Orange's house, but God be thanked there was no hurt onelie the coache broken: I tooke him into my coache and brought him home. The Princess of Orange went from hence vpon Saterday, and you will haue our Baron shortlie with you at Aix, he will tell you the second part of the Queene of Sweden, for he comes from her to your Court. to morrow I beleeve I

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* Allusive to the defeat of the Spaniards by the French on St. Louis's day, when their lines were forced, whilst besieging Arras, with great slaughter.

† Lady of Sir Richard Browne, and mother-in-law of John Evelyn.

‡ "Kate Killigrew," daughter of Lord Stafford. She had been Maid of Honour to the Queen upwards of eight years. A curious letter, introducing this lady to her Majesty, in 1646, may be referred to in Bromley's Royal Letters, p. 135.

shall goe a shooting, which I haue not done since you went. I am verie glade to heere that you are established in your place, which you desarve so well. this is no complement but the verie truth from

Your most affectionat frend,

Hage, Aug. 31. ELIZABETH.

I am verie sorie for my Lo: Wentworths sickness. I pray lett him know so from me, and remember me to Mr. Chancellour.

I pray remember my humble seruice to the King: the news of beating the Scotch* is now tolde quite contrarie by a ship come from thence.

"For Mr. Secretarie."

Indorsed by Sir E. N. 31o Aug: st: No: 1654. R. 3o. 7bris. Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of BOHEMIA to Sir EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Hagh, Sep: 7 (1654).

Mr. Secretarie, I thanke you both for the good news you writt to Sr Charles Cottrell out of Holland, and for your letter I receaued this morning with the relation of the defeat before Arras. I hope you will send that of Holland to Curtius† that the beleef of the Scotch defeat may not be

* This was a trifling affair; being merely a check given to Lilburn the Parliamentary General, who commanded during Cromwell's absence.

† Curtius had long been the English agent, at Frankfort, to the German Princes. He had been Secretary to the King of Bohemia, and in 1640 was also employed by Charles the First in Germanic diplomacy.

continued in Germanie. but none pleaseth me better then what you write of my deere Godsonne,* and the continuance of my Neeces good health. The Queen of Sweden is yett at Anwerp, wee looke euerie day to see the Landgrave heere, and by him I shall know what she will doe. It is certaine that the flux is much in Monkes army,† a Scotchman that is come from thence reports it, and all the particulars you haue written. Dr. Morley has a letter from Anwerp of some trouble by a discouerie of a new treason in London of the levellers against his pretious highness, but I beleeue you will haue more particullars of that then wee heere.‡ Dr. Earle setts forwards to morrow to Breda and so to Aix. I doe not write to you by him because this will be sooner with you. Our Baron has sent for his man Smith to meet him God knows where, for I doe not, I beleeve you will haue him at Aix: he is the direct wandring Jew. My Ladie Herbert is looked for heere shortlie, but she was not come from Paris the last week. I heare Mrs Hide§ is

* We have been unable precisely to ascertain the "godson" here alluded to. In her Majesty's letters preserved in the Bromley Collection, there are frequent allusions to him. In one place (Bromley, p. 286) she speaks of him under the name of "Tint;" but this seems merely a playful manner of writing to a familiar friend.

† Monk commanded in Scotland at this period; having superseded Lilburn, Morgan, and other parliamentary officers.

‡ This was immediately after Cromwell's well-known treatment of the House of Commons, and his assumption of the Protectorate. It was on the 3d of this month that he called together his first mock parliament; and eight days after the date of this letter, the members swore fealty to him.

§ This lady was afterwards Duchess of York, and, though not yet married to the Duke, at this period she seems to have

to come to my Neece in Mrs Killegrews place, which I am verie glad of, she is verie fitt for itt and a great fauorit of mine, who ame euer

Your most affectio
nat Frend,

I pray lett my Lord Wentworth know I ame extreme glade he is of the kings councell, being so much his frend as I ame I cannot but wish him much ioye of it.

Indorsed, 7o Sepbris 1654. The Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Hagh, Sep: 15. (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, I assure you your letters are always verie welcome to me. I hope before this come to you, you will receaue a pacquet from Scotland which came to Roterdam, and ould Will. Kepley caries himself to Aix. I shall be

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engaged much of the royal attention. Charles, in a letter to Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, in 1655, says, "I will try whether Sir S. Compton be so much in love as you say, for I will name Mrs. Hyde before him so by chance, that except he be very much smitten it shall not at all move him." Sir Spencer Compton, son of the Earl of Northampton, was so loyal and gallant in his infancy, that, as Sir Philip Warwick informs us, though not able to grasp a pistol, yet in indignation he cried because he was not exposed to the same hazard his brothers were.

verie glad to know what news it brings, because heere is againe news of Monkes being beaten, which a man of Midletons writes to Straghen from Stranaven or such a name, and from my Lo. of [illegible], and that all long for the King. Stone is at last here, he saith that Cromwell will be now either King or Emperour, I wish him the latter. he has heard nothing of Bamfeild, but I easilie beleeue he is honnest enough to be well used by Cromwell, he tells the Fleet as you hear, but it will not be beleeued heere. This day the assemblie of Hollande begins. theire agent in Sueden writt to the States Generall, that S^r George Fleetwood, brother to him that is Leftenant of Irland, tolde him that he knew Cromwell had saide he woulde keepe the peace with the States no longer then he found it good for his interests, and woulde break with the first occasion that he can for the good of his deseins. Those of Hollande are verie angrie at the agent for writing this: those that have seene the letter tolde it me. it is so late as I can say no more, but ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.*

I pray remember me to my lord Wentworth, I have not time to answer his letter but will doe it by the first post.

15^o 7^bris 1654. R: $\frac{7}{17}$. Qu: of Bohemia.

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* The following letters of the Queen of Bohemia, where her name is not subscribed, are signed with her cipher, as in pp. 198 and 219.

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Hage, Sep: 21.

Mr. Secretarie, I thanke you for yours of the 18 of Sept: yesterday I was tolde that all the people at Bruxelles were sending theire goods to Antwerp for feare of the French.* Some in a ship come out of England say that the mock Parliament beginn to dispute their priuiledges with Cromwell, but I feare they will but too well agree. I ame verie glade the King used Prince Williame and his ladie† so well. Boswell‡ is well enough serued, but I pittie him for he is vtterlie vndone. there is heere no news at all, onelie Monsr de Wimmenom is verie sick. the States of Holland are assembled, but Brederoke, Opdam, and Merode are not yett come. it is now verie faire weather. when the Princess of Tarents picture is ended by Louyr, which will be this day, then I may chance goe a shooting,§ which I have not done since you went. I pray deliuer this inclosed to the King with my humble service. I ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.

I pray lett me know if the Queene of Sueden did write to the King by my Lord of Norwich, and if she did it ciuilie or not. Sure Dick Harding is growen a fish in his

* In consequence of the war existing in Flanders, between France and Spain.

† Sister of the late Stadtholder.

‡ Sir William Boswell, already noticed.

§ Hunting seems also to have been a very favourite amusement of her Majesty of Bohemia. It is frequently alluded to in these letters; and in those of Bromley's Collection, sixteen years previous, there are several references to it.

baths, for he is as mute as one, tell him so from me. I think the King had better stay where he is then to goe to Collein, he will not be so much at his leisure there as at Aix, those of Collein are odd people, so as I ame of your opinion.

$\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{1}$ 7^{bris} 1654. R. $\frac{1}{2}\frac{4}{4}$. Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Mr. Secretarie, I ame verie glade that I shall see my Neece heere so soone, and I thanke you for all your other news. I beleeue Dr. Morley will write those that he heares out of England of Cromwells dessoluing of his Parliament,* for being so ungratious as not to doe as he woulde haue them. it was confirmed to me the last night by one of the States Generall, for three of ther Deputies are come from London that were sent about the treatie of the Amb'^{ors} and the other disputes; they confirme all, but it was so

* This evidently alludes to the transactions on the 3d of September, 1654, when Cromwell summoned that Parliament which he immediately afterwards dissolved for their opposition to his assumption of the Protectorate; a rank and authority which, up to that date, rested solely upon a proclamation of the Council, but was not sanctioned by the people. The speech, which the Queen of Bohemia alludes to, was that remarkable one on the first sitting of the House; when a member, after denying the authority which had called them together, boldly exclaimed, "that as God had made him instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one man, so now he could not endure to see the nation's liberties shackled by another, who had no right to the government but by the length of his sword."

late that I coulde not heare of the particullars. the same State tolde me there was a speech of part of the orange and red men in rebellion against his pretious highness. I pray tell your daughter all this, for I had sealed her letter before I had the certaintie of the news. I ame verie glad the king resolues to stay at Aix, it is much better then Collein. I heare there is one that has heeretofore served my Lo: of Brainford* paked from Scotland to the King but three days agone, and came from thence but sixe days before, he would tell no news but made hast away. Soone as he went, there reached heere one Thomson, one I haue seene before: he tells all the particullars of the defeat that is so bragged of. he saith that they were dispersed vpon it, but it is aboue fiue weekes since he came from thence, being come thourough England by his countrie, the borders, where in his passage he mett with a partie where he was hurt and lamed, but for all that he is gone to the King. he much complaines of diuisions amongst them, and not of Sir George Monroe, which they doe also. I doe admire how people could tell so great a lye as the pacquet, but it is verie common amongst my countriemen.—Phil: Mohun is heere, she is fled from England fearing to be imprisoned by Cromwell, shes verie good companie and talkes verie freelie but handsomlie. My Ladie Herbert is also heere, since Sunday last; I haue had yett no time to aske her anie thing, hauing not seene her since Sunday. Thom: Doleman† is heere and desires leeue to see me, which I

* Patrick Ruthen, Earl of Forth in Scotland. He had been General of Charles's forces during the Rebellion; but was dead at the date of this letter.

† Dolman had suffered much in the royal cause during the civil wars. He was a Berkshire gentleman, and his house at

haue put off untill I know the Kings pleasure: for hauing so openlie owned the setting forward of the treatie I will not see him without the Kings approbation. I haue writt thus to your daughter, and desire you both to know the Kings pleasure in it. I entreat you besides to remember my humble seruice to him, and keepe me still in his good opinion, for it is the best seruice and frendship you can doe to

Your most affectionat

Hagh, Sep. 29. frend.

I bragg'd to soone of shooting, for since I wrote the weather has not serued.

"For Mr. Secretarie."

29o 7bris 1654. R: 8bris. The Queene to me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Hagh Oct. 2. (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, I send you heere a letter for the King, it is about a match betwixt Prince Adolphe the King of Suedes brother and Sophie;* he has desired it verie handsomlie: my sonne has consented to it, reseruing the King of Suedens consent and mine, who ame to acquaint the King with it. I doe it now, and send you the copie of Prince Adolphes letter, I pray gett an answere from the

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Shaw, just below Donnington Castle, was one of the points of attack during the battle of Newbury, making a good defence against Lord Manchester.

* Daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, afterwards married to the Elector of Hanover, and thence the stem of descent of the present Royal House of Brunswick.

King as soone as you can. I haue no more to say, but ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.

I pray assure me to my Lo: Wentworth, I write not now to him, I haue no time, for the post is readie to goe. I pray say the same to reuerent Dick Harding.

"2o 8bris 1654. st. No. R. 4o. The Queene of Bohemia to me concerning ye Kings consent for Presse Sophia to marry Prce Adolph, ye King of Swedens brother."

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Hagh, Oct. 19. (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, hearing that you may chance to stay all this week at Collein, I send you this inclosed for the King, to giue him humble thankes for his aprobation of Sophies mariage. You will haue vnderstood by Curtius all the newes of Germanie, for his going to waite vpon the King. You will finde by the English prints that they are forbiden to write anie thing of the proceedings of their mock Parliament. I was at Delft to see the wrack that was made by the blowing up of the powder this day seuenight, it is a sad sight, whole streets quite razed; not one stone vpon another, it is not yett knowen how manie persons are lost, there is scarse anie house in the toune but the tyles are off. —*(A great blot on the paper.)* Apollo with leaping into my lapp has made this blott. Thom. Killegrew is heere, who makes a rare relation of the Queene of Sueden. It is verie colde, which I hope will diminish the plague. I pray be confident that I am euer

Your most affectionat frend,

Elizabeth.

I ame extreme glade to heare that the King is satisfied with Ruperts letter, and that he has answered him so kindlie. I pray doe poore Curtius all the fauour you can, that he haue something from the King to incourage him the more to serue him.

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Hagh No: 16. (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, iust now I receaue yours, and for a cause that you shall know heereafter I now answer you, this is a riddle which none but your daughter and two more know. I was Satterday last with my best Neece * at Speiling, it being her birth day. I ashure you she is [in] much trouble for her deare Brother the D. of Glocester, all the world woulde looke for no other I can witness for you.—I ame sorie the King has so much cause of greef, I beseech God he may speedilie remedie it. I beleeue my deare Nephue has a good resolution, but there is no trusting to one of his age. I confess I did not think the Queene woulde haue proceeded thus: all is kept heere verie secret that Prince Will: † doth in Overizel, but I ame tolde that all goes well, and that Deventer which toune was the most against will doe well, as also Rupert who was of the other faction, ‡ not

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* Perhaps the Princess Dowager of Orange, *par excellence*; especially as the whole passage seems to refer to the attempts made at Paris, by Queen Henrietta Maria and her friends, to induce the young Prince to change his religion.

† Prince of Nassau Dietz, married to the Stadtholder's sister.

‡ Evidently in allusion to the De Wit faction, which at this moment was disturbing the peace of the United Provinces. Their great object was to deprive the infant Stadtholder of his

against the P. of Orange but Marshals. I pray beleeue me constantlie for I ame so

Your most affectionat frend.

I send you a letter for the best of Kings, tis about Thom. Killegrew's business. I pray remember me to Mr. Chancelour, and tell him his Ladie and my fauorit his daughter came hither upon Saterday, and are gone this day to Teiling. I finde my fauorit growen euerie way to her aduantage.

$\frac{6}{16}$o Nobris 1654. R. $\frac{9}{19}$o The Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh De: 3. (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, I receaued yours at Berghen, whither I was come from Anwerp and Bruxells. I finde you haue vnridled my riddle verie right. I saw the Queene of Sueden at the play, she is extrauagant in her fashion and aparell, but she has a good well fauoured face, and a milde countenance. One of the players that knew me tolde her who I was, but she made no shew of it. I went the next day to Bruxelles, where I saw the Arch-duc at mass, and I saw his pictures and lodgins. I lay at Sr Harry de Vics,* who was verie carefull and dilligent to doe me all the ser-

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official power, and to give it solely to the Assembly of the States. This, in fact, was one of the articles which Cromwell enforced upon the States, as a *sine qua non*.

* Sir Henry de Vic had been long in the English service. He was with the Duke of Buckingham at Rochelle; and there are several well-written letters from him to Lord Conway, respecting that affair, in Hardwicke's Collection of State Papers.

vice he coulde. I stayed but Sunday at Bruxelles, and returned to Anwerp vpon Munday, and heearing from Duart how the Queene of Sueden had desired to know when I came back thither, that she might meet with me in an indiferent place, I made the more hast away the next day because I had no minde to speak with her since I heard how unhandsomelie she had spoken of the King my deare Brother and of the King my deare Nephue, and indeed of all our nation, so I auoided it and went away as soone as I had dined. Yett she sent Donoy to me with a verie civill message that she was sorie she coulde not use that ciuilitie to me as she both should doe and desired, hoping that one day wee might meet together with more freedome; I answered her as civillie as I coulde, and now when I went from Berghen I gaue S^r^ Will: Swann charge to make her a complement from me. I came hither vpon Tewsday from Berghen, where I was extremelie well intertained by the Princess of Zolern * who was with me and was my guide all the iourney, and defrayed me. her daughter is now so prettie euerie way that you would like her yet better than euer you did if you saw her; she is much growen and is still of a verie sweet disposition, and she doth become her: she has a great deal of witt and loues our nation extreamlie, it makes me think of your wishe† which I ame not against you know. by this post I haue had verie good news of the Duke of Glocesters constantie in his religion and of my Lo: of Ormonds handsome carriage in that business,‡ so as the

* Francisca, daughter of Frederick the Rhingrave, and wife of John George Prince of Hohenzollern.

† Evidently allusive to a plan of producing a match between Charles II. and this young Princess, one of the daughters of the Zollern family.

‡ This alludes to the attempt made to force the young Duke

Queen saith she will press him no further in it, but I hope the King will not trust to it, but gett him away from thence, which will doe the King great right: it is so colde as I can say no more, but ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.

I pray excuse me to my Lo. Wentworth and reverent Dick Harding till the next.

"For Mr Secretarie."

3 Dec: St: No: 1645 R. 6o. The Queene of Bohemia cong her iourney to see the Qu. of Sweeden.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh De: 21. (1651).

Mr Secretarie, I haue receaued yours of the 18 of this month. I long to heare my sweet Nephue * is at Bruxelles. My Neece has sent Nick: Armourer to meet him there. I haue written to him by him, if the King woulde permitt him to take this place and Teiling in his way from Bruxelles he woulde make his Sister † and me verie glade: he need not make such hast to see him, it is but the other day since

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of Gloucester into the Jesuits' College; from which, and other attempts upon his religion, he was only saved by the handsome conduct of the Marquis of Ormond, who voluntarily offered his services to the King to snatch his brother out of the hands of the Queen-mother and her bigoted Confessor Montague. Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. II. pages 163—7, contains a very amusing account of the whole transaction, very much to the credit of the Marquis.

* The Duke of Gloucester, who was just brought from Paris by the Marquis of Ormond.

† The Princess Dowager of Orange.

he was with him, but it is much longer since wee saw him, and I ame sure our hoghen Moghens will take no notice of it if they be not asked the question as they were for the King's comming to Breda. To be with his Sister some time can doe him no harme. I haue taken the boldness to write the same by my Lo: Gerard * to the King, who I beleeue will be with you as soone as this letter, for he went from hence vpon Saterday last. We heere nothing of the rebells fleet heerabouts, but they say that Blag † is to ioine with the Spanish fleet against the Duke of Guise. The French Ambassadour beleeues the treatie with Cromwell as good as broken; he is much ioyed that the meeting betwixt the Queene of Sueden and P. of Condé ‡ was to neither of theire content, for he desired to be receaued as the Queene receaued the Arcdduc, which she refused, saying she had done too much in that and woulde

* Lord Gerard of Bromley; now extinct.

† Admiral Blake is the personage here alluded to. The Duke of Guise died very soon after this letter was written, in consequence of wounds received at the siege of Arras.

‡ Yet the Prince de Condé was a great admirer of Christina, and observed upon one occasion — "How great is the magnanimity of this Princess, who could so easily give up that for which mankind are continually destroying each other, and which so many throughout their whole lives pursue without attaining!" Condé, at the period here recorded, was in exile at Brussells; and though he felt offended upon the score of etiquette, her abdicated Majesty seems to have treated him with great familiarity, exclaiming "Cousin! who would have thought ten years ago that we should have met at this distance from our countries?" The Prince might have thanked her for his exile, as it arose partly from her intermeddling in the affairs of the Fronde in France, a few years previous.

doe so no more, yet he came to see her *brusquement a l'improuist*, and did nothing but *railler* her in his talke, which putt her so out as she said almost not one worde. This was in the morning; after dinner she sent to know if he woulde see the play at night, he said he would obey her, but desired to know whither he shoulde come knowen or as vnknowen, for if he came as Prince of Condé he looked tohaue a *chaise a bras* as the Archduc had—she saide he had better come unknowen, so he came, and she stood all the play, railling with Mon^r^ Quito the Princes favourit. the next day the P. went to Bruxelles, and neither of them well satisfied with the other. My La: Swann will be heere within a few days, by her I shall know more of this: I haue heard the reason of S^r^ Henry de Vics iourney to Coloign:* since it is a doting time for the kings oulde Ministers of State, I thanke God your wife is yet aliue, for feare you should fall in loue againe. I pray lett me know when that wedding will be, for I (will) send you a letter to reverent Dick to bespeak him for brideman. I thank you for your congratulation of Apollos† returne, you know how great a favorit he is to

Your most affectionat frend.

I pray tell my Ladie Hide I ame verie glade she is so well come to Coloigne.

"For M^r^ Secretarie."

$\frac{11}{21}$ Dec: 1654. R. $\frac{14}{24}$. The Qu: of Bohemia cog the Pr. of Condé ond the Qu: of Sweedes being unsatisfied wh each other.

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* It was an affair of courtship! Her Majesty again alludes to it in p. 213.

† Her Majesty's lap-dog, already noticed!

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh, Dec: 27 (1654).

Mr. Secretarie, since you wrote yours, I understand that that arch villaine Manning has receauved his iust desert.* I wish all those of his cabal with him. I wish I might know whome he has accused on this side the sea, to auoide them, but this is onelie in case you may tell it, for I doe not desire it otherwise; I haue curiositie enough to desire to know the rest, but I will not desire but as you think fitt. There is little news heere, the King of Sneden† has a sonne borne to him and has . . . . . and prospers exceedinglie. the K. of Poland‡ is in Silesia, hunts and passeth

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* Of this Manning a remarkable anecdote is related in a scarce tract, now in the British Museum, which professes to give a memoir of Charles during his exile.

"Before his Majesty's departure from Colen, there happened a discovery of one of those persons who, under pretence of waiting upon him (Capt. Manning by name) discovered unto the Protector all his designs and counsels; who being found out, was by his Majesty's command, sent to a strong castle adjacent to Colen, there to be kept close prisoner. But all the Court being highly incensed against him for his perfidiousnesse, one of his Majesty's servants (though contrary to order) pistoled him as he was lighting out of the coach at the Castle gate, giving him less than the due reward of his so abominable treachery." It was by this Manning that Penruddock was betrayed. He corresponded with Thurloe.

† Charles Gustavus Duke of Deux Ponts, who had recently succeeded the abdicated Christina.

‡ The well-known John Casimir. The Queen's observations seem almost prophetic; as the whole of Poland was conquered

his time with little care of anie thing else, this I haue from his owne resident, but I feare the Electour of Brandebourg * will be in a ill condition if he doe not make an agreement with the King of Sueden. it is beleeued that Prince Williame will be shortlie Marschall of the Feelde: those that were so much against him are not now so fierce: else there is no news, onely Scone is come, and I hope all will be well ended in that foolish business. I ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.

Mr. Charles Cottrell, my Lo: Wentworth, † and reverent Dick Harding, I cannot write to them now for lack of time. I pray say the same to Mons^r^ Soiret from me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh Jan: 4 (1654-5).

Mr. Secretarie, I haue receaued yours of the 29th at my returne vpon Thursday last from Teiling, and this morning I haue letters from Bruxelles, who tell me that my deare nephue the D. of Gloucester was there vpon new years eue

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by the Swedes in less than two years after the date of this epistle.

* George William, grandfather of the first King of Prussia.

† L ord Wentworth had been high in command, during the Civil Wars; and after Goring went to France, a second time, he had the command of the Western Army: Yet Bulstrode says of him that "he was a very lazy and unactive man, and was not thought either of interest, experience, courage, or reputation enough for that trust which was devolved upon him."

There are some curious anecdotes of him in Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 150, &c.

the same day I was at Teiling, but when he came thither or goes from thence I know not. I ame extreme glade the King permitts (him) to see his sister and me. I hope he will suffer him to stay some time with my deare Neece, it will be a great contentment to her and no hurt to him, and as long as there is nothing tolde to the States of him, they will take no notice of it, this I know is true. I am sorrie for poore Sr Henry de Vic,* for lett the match break or goe on, it is euerie way ill for him: We heare no certaintie heere how the French treatie with the rebells in England goes, whither it breake or peece.† I am verie sorrie for the Countess of Mortons death,‡ I pittie Sr Thom. Berkley, but most her children. the Queene of Sueden is now at Bruxelles, where she was receaued in greate state: I beleeue the Arch-duke § wisheth her at Anwerp, for she persecutes him verie close with her companie, for you know he is a verie modest man. I haue written to the King some particullars of it which are verie rare ons, but the Prince of Condé is still verie unsatisfied with her and will not come

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* Sir Henry de Vic, in the early part of Charles the First's reign, had been his Majesty's Secretary for the French mission, and also agent to the King of Denmark. See p. 210,

† In January the cavaliers were stirring, but in vain; and in the following November, Cromwell made peace with the French. The Ex-Queen of Sweden and the Prince of Condé seem to have been meddling with those affairs, through the diplomatic exertions of the Count de Tott; as may be seen by reference to a letter in Bromley's Collection, p. 186.

‡ Widow of William Earl of Morton, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and long in great personal favour with Charles the First.

§ Archduke of Austria.

at her. I haue one peece of news which it may be you haue not heard: the resident of Polande tells me that there is a treatie betwixt Sueden and Polande and a perpetual peace, and to assist one the other against the Muscovits: the King of Poland will quit his pretention to Sueden vpon condition that he be recompenced with some lande or Islande for his heire, that if they be not chosen to succeed the kingdome of Polande, they may haue some place to them selfs to liue in, for the K. of Polande has no patrimonie of his owne nor can buy anie lande under the croune of Poland: his agent has order to goe for England, to see if Cromwell woulde send some ships against the Muscovits to make a diuersion. the good agent is verie vnwilling to goe, but he must obey his master. Sure Cromwell is the beast in the Revelations that all kings and nations doe worship; I wish him the like end and speedilie, and you a hapie new yeare as *.

your most affectionat frend.

" For Mr. Secretarie."

4o Jan: St, No: 1654-5. R: 7. Qu; Bo:

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh Jan: 10 (1654-5).

Mr. Secretarie, I beleeue you will heare at Collein how I haue beene debauched this last week in sitting up late to see dancing. wee made Friday out and every night, which

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* Her Majesty's political gossip in this epistle is highly deserving the notice of the historian. A preceding note shews that the proposed peace between Poland and Sweden was of very short duration.

lasted till Saterday at fiue a clock in the morning, and yesterday was the christening of P. Will:* childe: I was at the supper: my Neece, the P^s douager, the little Prince† and P. Maurice were gossips: the States generall, I meane their Deputies, and the Counsell of State, and myself and Louyse were there as guests. after super was daneing this (till) three a clock, my little Nephue was at the super and sett verie still all the time: those States that were there were verie much taken with him. the King of Sueden with his army is within an houres going from Kunisberg with twenty thousand men, most horse. the Elector is in the toune and has also which they say is twentie thousand also, he has [*torn off*,] foot then the King has [*also torn*]‡ Ambassadour goe this week from hence towards Sueden and Dennemark, one of those that goes for Dennemarke is Mon^r d'Ameron a gentleman of Utrecht, a verie honest and great Royalist and so you may be sure my great frend, but I beleeue they will doe but little with that King, for I am tolde from a good hande that he and the K. of Sueden are in verie good intelligence together, which I am not sorie for considering how little these States assist there allies. My deare Neece continues her resolution of going from hence Thursday next, but I dout the weather will hinder for it thaughs apace.

I ame euer your most affectionat frend.

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* This evidently refers to William Frederick, Count and Prince of Nassau Dietz, who had married Albertine Agnes, sister of the late Prince of Orange.

† Afterwards William the Third of England, then only four years of age.

‡ This alludes to the first invasion of Poland by Gustavus, who marched from Pomerania into that Kingdom after the irruption made by his order, by General Wirtemberg.

I have not time to write to write to Mons: Soiret, but tell him he was wished here vpon Friday last. I haue written to my Nephue all the particullars of what they were and who was best dressed.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh, Jan. 11 (1654-5).

Mr. Secretarie, I hope my next will tell you of my sweet Nephues being wellcome to Teiling, for Mr. Lovell assures vs all heere that he is perfectlie well. I beleeue Mr. Fraiser is not sorie to haue a commission to waite upon him this way, for soe he may see his Mistris though she will not confess him so. I know not how your people at Colloigne *

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* Charles the Second now kept his Court at Cologne, but in great privacy. Sir Stephen Fox is described by Bulstrode, as having the care, management, and disposal, of his household, which he kept at an expence of not more than six hundred pistoles *per* month. In fact, such was the royal economy, that Charles never kept a coach during his long stay in that City. "In the time of the King's banishment," adds Bulstrode, "he spent two years at Cologne, where he was well received by a widow, at whose he lodged."

In a letter written by the King to Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, and preserved in the Miscellanea Aulica, p. 109, it appears that Charles led a very rational and sober life whilst at Cologne. He says: "I hope it will not be many days before you see how we pass our time at Collen, which tho' it be not so well as I could wish, yet I think it is as well as some of you do at Paris; at least some that are here would not pass their time so well there as they do here."

In another letter, Charles mentions a design of himself and the Princess Dowager of Orange, to go to the Frankfort Fair *incognito*.

goe on with theire business, but our resident Thom. was asked yesterday for the first time, and so was Jack Sayers. I feare resident Halle will not haue by much so good a bargaine, but how Bess who is left at Bruxelles will take it, for she has written a terrible letter to S^r^ Charles Cottrell of it, and how confident she is of her Masters honnestie to her, so as she may chaunce forbid the bains. Vicfort tolde me yesterday that Bourdeaux has order to stay yett it England, which shews what you beleeue is true. the news I writt to you of Poland and Sweden is most true, and that De Bre makes still his monitions to goe for England.

Wee had a Royaltie, though not vpon twelf night, at Teiling, where my Neece was a gipsie and became her dress extreame well ..... was a Northolland boorine; Mrs. Hide * a shephardess and I assure was verie handsome in it, none but her Mistress looked better than she did. I beleeue my Lady Hide and Mr. Chancelour will not be sorie to heare it, which I pray tell them from me. the queene of Sueden takes a house at Anwerp, all her owne people leaues her and Italiens and Spaniards comes in theire place. Heere is little news stirring. I beleeue you heare of the quarrelle betwixt my soone and the Elector of Ments, it may come to some† ill business. it is so colde and they make such a noise with theire bells and pleids in (the) street as makes me end, but am euer

your most affectionat frend.

I pray remember my humble seruise to the King, and in my name make an humble suit to him in Thom: Kille-

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* Afterwards Duchess of York; but then in the household of Princess Dowager of Orange.

† A trifling dispute about boundaries.

grews* behalf. It is to recommend him to Pr. William for Captaine Morgans companie who is dead. the companie lyes at Orzo and is under Eri . . . e, it will make him to subsist untill the King be able to doe for him, and his wiues frends haue putt him upon it. I woulde not trouble his Ma^tie with a letter since you are in the place. Thom: writes himself to the King about it; it will be a great honnour for him the Kings writing because his wiues frends will by that . . . . his Ma^ties favour to him.

" For Mr. Secretarie."

11° Jan. 1654-5. R. $\frac{1}{7}$. Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Mr. Secretarie, I haue receaued yours. My sweet Nephue is not yett gone from Anwerp, but I hope now the weather is better, and I shall see him I hope shortlie, for as soon as he comes to Teiling I will be there. I hope it is a good prophesie of the Electrice of Brandebourg† hauing

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* Killigrew, so well known in the private history of Charles's reign, was groom of his bedchamber after the Restoration, and happened to be engaged one morning with a volume of his own plays, which he took up in the window, whilst his Majesty was shaving. "Ah! Killigrew," asked the King, "what will you say at the last day, in defence of all the idle words in that book?" To which the facetious Tom replied, that he would give a better account of his "idle words" than the King would do respecting *his idle promises* and *more idle patents*, which had undone more than ever his books did!

† The Electress Elizabeth Charlotte was daughter of Frederick V. Elector Palatine, and therefore sister-in-law to her Bohemian Majesty.

a sonne, but she doth looke to be deliuered before the end of this month or the beginning of the next. The letters out of England say Cromwell is bringing his armie to London, and doubles his gardes, plants cannon in manie places in London and at the Toure; it is saide he will make himself King by force since he cannot be it otherwise: this is written to the P. of Torente. I doe not heare that Bariere is at Bruxelles. I will tell Thom. Killegrew what the King answeres. As for the Archduc he may thanke God to be ridd of the Queen of Sueden, who is lodged at the Count of Egmonts house in Bruxelles, where she stays all winter. My Lord Norwich has got news that the Archduc goes for Spaine, and Don John of Austria comes in his place and marrieth the Queene of Sueden, and to haue the Low Countries as the Archduc Albert, but I beleeue it not: there is nothing else that I have to say to you but ame euer

Your most affectionate friend,

Hagh, Jan. 18.

18o Jan: 1654-5. R: 11-21. Queene of Bohemia.

To her Royall Highness the Lady Princesse Dowager of Orange, from the States of Holland and West-Vriesland.

Most excellent Princesse,

We were informed by some that the Lord King Charles your Royall Highnesses Brother should haue betaken himselfe within the limitts of this State, and particularly that he should at this present shelter himselfe in the house at Tylinge: And although we cannot by any meanes beliene or expect from the wisdome and reason of the said nighty Lord the King that he would or durst vndertake contrary

to the Treaty of Peace made the last yeare with the Commonwealth of England to come within the limitts of this State, and directly against our particular orders comprehended in our Resolutions of the 30th of July, 2d and 4th of August all in the year 1653, and the writing made by the vertue thereof to be giuen to your Royall Highnes within the Province of Holland and West Vriesland: So haue we after good reasons, and for settling our selues in entire rest, found meete with these to set before the eyes of your Royall Highnes what is said before, with a desire and demaund that you will speedily declare, and assure vs of the truth hereof, nothing doubting, but desiring and requiring your Royall Highnes as much as in her lyes by all good offices and duties to be willingly helpefull to take heede and effect that the said mighty Lord the King doe not cast himselfe within the limitts of their high and mightines: and referring our selues thereto

Most excellent Princesse, We committ your Royall Highnes to Gods protection. Written in the Hague the 8th of March 1655. Your Royall Highnesses good friends

The States of Holland and West-vriesland.

By order of the same,

Herb't Van Beaumont.

1655.

The superscription.

"To her Royall Highnes the Lady Princesse Dowager of Orange."*

Indorsed by Sir Edw. Nicholas.

8o Martij 1654-5. Copy of the translation of ye letr written by ye States of Holl'd to ye Prsse Rll concg ye Ks being reported to be at Tylinge.

* The obscure Editor of Grebner, in his astrological guesses, has the following curious one. Speaking of Charles I., he says,

Instructions for our trusty & well-beloued Seruant, Richard Browne, Clerke of our Privy Councell &c. (in 1640.)

Charles R.

Hauing occasion to send a person of trust into Holland, unto our deare Sister the Queene of Bohemia, and our Nephew the Prince Elector Palatin, Wee are pleased to make choise of you for the imployment, and for your better direction therein, to prouide you w^th^ the Instructions following:

You shall represent unto our Sister, and Nephew,* (wee beeing informed he hath a desire to passe over into these partes) how inconuenient it would be for our seruice if att present he should undertake the journey, and that w^th^all, it can noe ways aduantage his owne affaires, since we shall still haue the same care and affection for them, in his absence, as if he were present, and now especially in this Treaty between us and the States of the Vnited Provinces,

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"The old Prince of Aurange he almost beggard, and yet to no purpose; the Parliament one time or other getting all armes and ammunition which ever came over to him; its confidently averred, if the King had become absolute here in England, Aurange had been King," &c. In the margin this political conjuror adds—"Its pittie Aurange lived not to master the Jew Hollander."

* The Elector Palatine had been in England previous to this, and was then elected Knight of the Garter. In consequence of the present negociation, he did not proceed to England until 1643, two years afterwards. Perhaps Charles the First was aware of his possessing those sentiments which finally induced him to side with the Parliament, in opposition to his Royal Uncle.

and the Prince of Orange, wherein his interests shall not be forgotten.

That for the paper wch Sr Richard Cave * hath given us, Wee find it soe directly contrary to the interests of the States, and in itselfe impracticable, that from that ground, Wee cannot hope any effects conducible to the good of our Nephewes affaires, yet in the present Treaty we are resolued to endeauour yc interest of him, and the House Palatene, soe farre as the present conjuncture of affaires will permit, it being one of the principall motiues that induced us to harcken to this Alliance wth the States, and the Prince of Orange.

You are further to giue our Sister and Nephew, all reall asseurances of our loue and affection to them, and particularly of our desires, that all misunderstands (if such there chaunce to haue bin) that haue happened either in circumstance or otherwayes, concerning the ouuertures of this Marriage† intended betweene our eldest daughter and the Prince of Oranges son, may be taken away: Wee foreseeing that nothing can be of more aduantage to them in their present condition, then that there be a cleare vnderstanding, and all reall friendship betweene them, and the Prince

* This Sir Richard Cave appears to have been much engaged in the affairs of Holland and the Palatinate. In Bromley's Collection of Royal Letters, he is mentioned by the Count Palatine in a letter to the Queen of Bohemia, as Captain Cave; he was then serving in the army, and occasionally employed in diplomatic affairs.

† The marriage took place on the 2d of May 1641, when the Princess was only twelve years of age; and it is a curious fact in Charles's private history, that it was celebrated with great magnificence in the interval between the sentence and the execution of the Earl of Strafford.

and Princesse of Orange: wch you are effectually to represent vnto them by all the arguments and reasons you can frame, and of what dangerous consequence the contrary may be to their interests and restitution.

You shall likewise give unto our Sister and Nephew, a true and particular knowledge of the state of the Treatyes betweene us and the States Ambassadrs (as our principall Secretary shall informe you) as well of that of the Marriage, as of ye Confederation, in the latter of which, we are resolued (as aforesaid) to take a special care of their interests.

You are to acquaint them, that although the two Treatyes are not come as yett to a conclusion, neuerthelesse hauing been pressed by the Prince of Orange, that his son might passe into England before his going to the Field, Wee haue so farre giuen our assent thereunto as that wee haue left it to him, to doe therein as he shall thinke fitt.

You are to impart these our Instructions vnto Sr William Boswell our Resident, and to take his aduise in all things that may concerne our seruice, and you are wth him to addresse your selfe in our name to the Prince & Princesse of Orange, & to passe like offices wth them for the endeauouring & setling of a good understanding betweene our deare Sister, our Nephew, and them, according as wee soe earnestly desire, and their interest requires: Giuen under our Signe-manuall att our Court at Whitehall ye 23th of Febru: 1640.

(Signed) H. Vane.

Indorsed,

"His Maties Instructions to Mr. Browne, going into Holland 1641."

Instructions for our trusty and welbeloued Richard Browne,* Esq. one of the Clerkes of our Privy Councell, and our Agent w^th^ our good brother the most Christian King: (in 1641.)

Charles R.

Wee hauing occasion to imploy our right trusty and right welbeloved Cousin the Earle of Leycester† our extraord^ry^ Ambassad^r^ with our good brother the French King, in the gouernment of our Realme of Ireland, as our Lieutenant generall there, and to that end being now to recall him from his employment in France: Wee haue that confidence of your fidelity, and abilities, and particularly of your experience in those parts, that wee haue thought fitt to make choice of you for to be our Agent there, and that you may the better acquitt your selfe in that charge, you shalbe provided w^th^ the Instructions following:

First vpon your arriuall in that kingdome, you shall addresse yo^re^selfe vnto our said Ambassad^r^ extraord^ry^ for to be by him presented vnto that King, to whom you shall deliuer yo^r^ l'res of Credence, and impart your charge:

And when you shalbe thus admitted to his presence, you shall in due, and the best manner, lett him know the great affection wee beare to his person, and the good aduancement and prosperity of him and his affaires, and how much wee doe desire, according to the antient friendshipp and strait obligations betweene us, to maintaine all good intelligence and correspondence. To w^ch^ end, that there may be nothing wanting on our part, We haue now, vpon the

* Afterwards Sir Richard, father in law of John Evelyn, Esq.

† Robert Sidney, nephew of the gallant Sir Philip.

comming away of our Ambassadr, sent you to reside there: And soe you are accordingly to make this your principall aime, as it is indeed the proper charge of all Ambrs, Legats, and Agents, to nourrishe and maintayne a good correspondence betwixt the two Crownes.

And therefore you are to informe yoreselfe of all former Treatyes, and more especially of the last and most freshe in practice, betweene these Crownes, being the rule by wch the proceedings of the subjects of both sides are to be regulated.

And that you may better know wherein Wee, or our subjects, are any wayes concerned in those parts, whether in suites, processes, or otherwayes, you are to take all fitting and necessary informations from our said Ambassadr, and what businesses shalbe left in agitation by him for ore seruice, you are in our name to continue the prosecution thereof, and to giue account of yor proceedings therein.

Another part of your charge is, that you watch carefully ouer the motions of that State where you are, what treaties, alliances, assistances, or ennemityes shalbe moued wth other States openly, or vnder-hand, wherein our affaires may be any wayes concerned; and for yor better light and information herein, you are to keepe intelligence wth our Ambassadrs and Agents wth other Princes, and States, to whom wee will giue orders to correspond wth you.

And as there shall further occasion arise for you to negotiate in, for our seruice, you shall receiue directions, either immediately from our selues, or from our principall Secretaries in our name, wch you are to obserue & follow, as if it came vnder our owne hand, and from time to time to aduertise them (or vs as the importance of the occasion may require) of all yore proceedings, and what soeuer else may come to yore knowledge, wch may be usefull and neces-

sary for the good of our affaires:—Whitehall the 23th of July 1641.

H. Vane.

"Instructions for Mr. Browne."
July 23, 1641.

Charles R.

Nostre feal et bien amé Richard Browne, Gentilhom'e de Nostre Chambre Privée, Secretaire en Nostre Conseil Privée, et Nostre Resident en France, salut. Comme ainsi soit que ceux contre qui Nous avons a faire presentemt touchant le reste des derniers Dotaulx* de Nostre tres chere Epouse la Reyne, se veulent servir contre Nous de certains pretendus Ordres donnez l'un au mois d'Octobre 1633, par feu Nostre Grand Thresorier: † l'autre par Nous du 20me Juin 1639 a Barwick. Nous vous declarons & tous aultres qu'il appartiendra, que Nous desavouons celuy pretendu du dit N're Grand Thresorier, com'e estant donné hors son pouvoir, et contre le bien de Nos affaires et interests, & contre Nostre intention. Et pour celuy donné au dict Barwick, Nous le revoquons absolument, com'e ayant esté tiré de Nous par surprise & du tout contre Nre intention & le bien de Nos affaires. Ce que vous declarez et notifierez quand ainsi vous adviserez éstre affaire.

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* This resumption with respect to the Queen's dowry was evidently to facilitate the supplies from the Continent; since at this precise period her Majesty transmitted to the King a considerable sum of money raised upon the pawned jewels of the Crown. She went to Holland on the 23d of February preceding.

† Richard Weston, Earl of Portland.

Et pour ce faire, ces Nos Lettres vous seront Garrant et Authorité suffisante. Donné soubs Nostre signet le dixneufiesme jour de Juillet a Nre Cour a Beuerley, 1642, l'an XIIXme de N're Regne.

A Nre feal et bien amé Richard Browne, Gentilhom'e de N're Chambre Privée, Sec're en N're Conseil d'Estat & Privé, et N're Residt en France. 1642.

Charles R.

Trusty and well beloued Wee greet you well. Whereas one Walter Strickland * hath bin very lately sent in ye name of both Houses of Parliamt heere with credentials to treate with ore Allyes the States G'rall of the Vnited Netherlands, as pretended, for the publick good, though without any concurrence or knowledge of Us, which We must interprett the highest act of affront & disobedience wch hath bin committed against or Royall person & dignity; And this example leading us to a beleefe of what Wee haue bin told, but were not apt to creditt whilest there was any shew of reverence of or knowne Regalities yet remaining, that Augier,† or some other person, is by the said Houses sent with their usurped comission into France; Wee haue thought fitt hereby to authorise & com'and you

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* This Strickland was afterwards a member of Parliament, and one of those who had been strenuous in the affair of the "Self-denying Ordinance;" yet he is expressly stated by Walker, in the "History of Independency," to have been in the receipt of large sums from the public purse.

† Augier had formerly been in his Majesty's confidence in the diplomatic negociations on the Continent with regard to the Elector Palatine.

to use yre best and utmost meanes as well privatly as publickly & in Our Name to hinder & oppose any audience, countenance, or treaty in any kind to be afforded the said Augier or other whatsoeuer craving the same of ore Brother the French King, the Princes of the Blood, or any of the Protestant Party, ore Friends & Allyes, without Warrant under owre owne hand. And if, notwithstandg, Augier or any other shall prevaile, That you then in Ore Name solemnely protest there against the highest violacon of theire Allyance & Friendship with Vs, against wch Wee shall seeke such reparacon as by God's assistance Wee shall be enabled. For all wch as these ore Letters shalbe yre sufficient Warrant & Proteccon, So we shall expect hereof yor faithfull & bounden discharge as occasion therefore shalbe offred vnto you. Giuen at ore Court at Nottingham the 12th day of Septembr in the Eighteenth yeare of ore Reigne 1642.

"To our trusty & welbeloved Richard Browne, Esq.
Our Residt with or Brother the French King."

Indorsed,

"From his Maty 20th day of Septr 1642."*

Charles R.

Trusty & welbeloved Wee greet you well. Wee beleeve that before this Letter the Capucins† of Somersett house,

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* This letter was written a month after the King had hoisted his standard at Nottingham.

† This evidently refers to the complaints, so long existing, against the Queen's Ecclesiastical establishment. So powerful was the popular feeling against Popery, that the King was forced to proceed much further than his own intentions would

or some from them, wilbe arrived at Paris & haue represented there how disgracefully they were lately entreated at London. Wee are exceedingly displeased that soe high an affront hath been put upon the Treaty between Vs & the French King Our Brother, & upon Our owne Authority. But forasmuch as this barbarous Act is the child of that monstrous Rebellion wch goes big with confusion & destruccon to our Person & Posterity as well as our Laws & Rights. Wee wilbe cleere of any imputacon thereof, disavowing the same, the authors, actors & abettors thereof, as Wee doe disavow & detest all their traytrous machinacons against Vs & the Peace of Our Kingdoms, leauing them obnoxious to the iust indignacon & revenge wch God shall inflict upon them in his due time. And to this effect Wee will & command you in Our Name to make yore addresse to Our said deare Brother the French King for his satisfaccon & the discharge of Our conscience & affeccon to Him in this regard. And soe Wee bid you farewell. Giuen at Our Court at Oxford the 5th day of Aprill in the Nineteenth yeare of Oure Reigne.

1643.

" To our trusty and welbeloued Richard Browne,
our Resident with our deere Brother the French King."
From his Matie 5th April, 1643.

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have led him; for he not only offered, in a message to the Parliament, to require by proclamation that all statutes concerning Popish recusants should be put in execution, but that the seven condemned Popish priests should be banished, and all Romish priests to depart the Kingdom in twenty days. Burton's Civil Wars.

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

SIR EDWARD HYDE,

AFTERWARDS EARL OF CLARENDON,

AND

SIR RICHARD BROWNE,

AMBASSADOR TO THE COURT OF FRANCE, IN THE TIME OF KING CHARLES I.

AND THE USURPATION.

INTRODUCTION.

The connection which Lord Clarendon had with the events and politics of the period to which this Work refers, is too well known to require more, in this place, than a short introductory sketch illustrative of the subjects noticed in the various letters. The first two of these are written from Jersey, whither Sir Edward Hyde had accompanied the Prince of Wales; having indeed been of his Council when he was at Pendennis Castle, which he evacuated in 1645. Jersey was at that time under the government of Lord Jermyn; and Sir George Carteret was his deputy. When the Prince went to Paris to join his mother, Sir Edward remained behind; his reasons for which are fully recorded by himself in his Life. At Jersey he staid two years; and during the same period Sir Edward Nicholas was at Caen in Normandy, afterwards in Holland, where he had the King's leave to reside, on his being forced to fly from England.* Lord Digby also, to whom frequent reference is made, had been in Ireland, when Charles fled to Jersey: but joined him soon after with two frigates, and two hundred soldiers; at which time he strenuously urged the departure of the Prince for his father's Irish dominions. The Prince having afterwards proceeded

* Vide Lord Clarendon's State Papers, vol. II. p. 286.

to Holland, Sir Edward Hyde joined him there in 1648,* and, soon after the murder of the Royal Martyr, was sent Ambassador into Spain, from which country he rejoined the young King in France, and was appointed resident at Antwerp, where he remained during Charles's unsuccessful attempt in Scotland; but was ordered to Paris on his master's arrival there after the escape from the battle of Worcester.

These events fill up the hiatus between 1646 and 1652, the date of the *third* letter; and it only remains to explain some particulars of the affairs alluded to in many subsequent parts of the Correspondence, with respect to the Royal fleet.

When Charles I. perished on the scaffold, a portion of the Navy revolted from the Parliament, and sailed to Holland in aid of the Royal Cause. These ships were soon put under the command of Prince Rupert, and were employed by him in a predatory warfare against the Commonwealth, besides making several attempts on the Eastern coast of England in aid of the small Royal party still existing there; after which they proceeded to the Irish coast, where they took some valuable prizes. The Parliament sent Blake after them; but in 1649, Rupert, having forced his way through Blake's fleet, continued to capture English ships, apparently on his own account, and indeed without either asking for, or receiving, any orders from his Majesty. He then proceeded for Portugal, but was forced off by Blake, so that he was obliged to fly for the Mediterranean, where he commenced aggressions on the Spaniards, and

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* A very interesting account of his adventures upon that occasion may be found in Clarendon's Life, page 105.

was repaired and refitted at Toulon, from whence he found it necessary to retire, sailing, in 1650, for the West Indies.

At this period Scilly and Jersey sent out swarms of privateers; but those islands being captured by the Parliamentary forces, the freebooters were obliged to bring their prizes into the ports of Britanny; and, in return for the sanction of Royal Commissions, were called upon to pay certain droits into the King's Exchequer—a circumstance to which many of the following Letters refer.

In 1652, Rupert arrived at Nantes from the West Indies, after suffering heavy losses from storms; so that, in fact, he only brought back one man of war, and three or four other vessels, being the sole remains of twenty-five ships of force of which his squadron originally consisted: and these he was compelled to sell to pay his seamen, under circumstances which will be found illustrated in the ensuing Notes.

It may be proper here to bring to the Reader's recollection that the King staid at Paris until 1654, when he proceeded through Flanders to Spa; thence to Aix La Chapelle, and, finally, to Cologne, as noticed in the preceding series. In 1657 he was at Bruges, where he appointed Sir Edward Hyde to be Lord Chancellor of England.

CLARENDON LETTERS.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*

Sr,

That you receaued not an answer to your very kinde letter of the 4 of June, by some of the Princes trayne, you must impute to that agony of minde, which was necessary to oppresse me, at the partinge fro' so pretious a iewell, and with so many good frends; I hope I shall be agayne restored to them, howeuer that all happinesse will crowne ther counsells; whilst I with some very good frends of yours pray for them, in this poore islande; you will very much refresh vs with your correspondence, that wee may vnderstande the hopes, and progresse of that prosperity wee pray for. I doe not in the least degree apprehend a possi-

* From the general purport of this letter, it is evident that Sir Edward Hyde was by no means pleased with the Prince's journey from Jersey to Paris. His reasons for this are pretty fully detailed in his "Life," and also in the second volume of State Papers, p. 276. The justice of the political opinions here expressed was fully verified by the succeeding events.

See also p. 239, 2d vol. State Papers, for the King's reasons respecting the Prince's visit to the Court of France; and p. 307, for further observations on the "Scots and Independents."

bility of a peace betweene the Scotts & the Independ'ts, but feare more the manner of the warr, least in opposicon to the nacon all the English turne Independ'ts; which sure may be prænuented: I believe the crisis is at hande: I wish you all happinesse, beinge,

S^r^,

Your very affectionate Serv^t^,

Jarsy, this 12 of July 1646. Edw. Hyde.

I beseech you remember my seruice to Mr. Nicolls,* and desyre him, if Coll. Murray† should not be at Courte, that he keepe my letter to him, in his handes, till he see him; and that he deliuer it to none else. Your favour (S^r^) for this to S^r^ H. Mackeworth.‡

Sir Ric. Browne.

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* Who this Mr. Nicolls was, does not appear; for though Sir Edward Nicholas's name is sometimes spelled so in these letters, yet being then knighted he would have been called Mr. Secretary, as Sir Edward Herbert is often called "Mr. Attorney."

† Colonel Charles Murray, a companion of the Prince from Jersey to Paris. There is a humorous letter from him in Clarendon's State Papers, vol. II. p. 255, describing the arrival of his Royal Highness in the French capital, and subsequently at Fontainbleau.

‡ The first Baronet of that name, of Normanton, in Rutlandshire; and brother to the "brave and honest" Sir Francis, who distinguished himself in the Civil War, as Major General to the Marquis of Newcastle, and afterwards served in the Low Countries, during Charles's exile.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I haue this day receaued yours of the 18. of August * [qr. July], and by your leaue continue the giuinge you this trouble; by this tyme I hope his Highnesse hath had so good a recepcon at ffountainebleau,† that hath made some amends for the former wante of ceremony: Methinkes the imaginacons that it is possible for the Kinge to submitt to those vyle proposicons,‡ is the next treason to the makinge them, ther beinge in them no seedes left, out of which Monarchy may agayne possibly springe: and therfore I longe to heare how our brethren of Scotland comporte themselves upon his refusall, which yet I doe not exspecte will be positive, but such a one as they at London will vote to be a refusall: I beseech you let me heare, how your intelligence from London diposes the Catholiques ther, I suppose that party cleaues to the Independ'ts, and I am sure had hearetofore fayre promises from them; and can have no hope from the Presbitery. I feare the ill successe

* This apparent anticipation of date, when compared with that of this letter, may have arisen from Sir Richard using the Gregorian style, from Paris, whilst Sir Edward preserved the old style, in conformity with English custom.

† The letter, spoken of in the preceding postscript, for Colonel Murray, appears to have been written on the subject of the Prince's reception at the French Court; for in the second volume of Clarendon's State Papers, p. 254, there is an epistle from the Colonel, describing the distinguished reception which the Prince met with on his arrival at Fontainbleau.

‡ The propositions here alluded to are noticed in the preceding portion of this work.

of the ffrench in Italy and fflanders,* will giue them an excuse for those faylings to his Highnesse, which they meant to committ in the most prosperous condicon: and if this indispoticon in the Pr. of Condé be in earnest, they may haue ther excuses multiplyed.† If my brother Aylesbury‡ be come to you, I pray let him receaue this inclosed letter, otherwise keepe it for him. My service to Mr. Nicolls,§ to whome I sent a packet by Dr. Jonson, which I hope came safe to him; My LL^{ds} heare, and our very good Gouernour,‖ are your seruants, as I am very heartily,

S^{r},

your most affectionate, humble seru^{t},

EDW: HYDE.

Jarsy this 14. of Aug. 1646.

S^{r} Ric. Browne.

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* During the war with Spain, in the minority of Louis XIII.; but these events were not of sufficient importance to require specific illustration.

† The Prince of Condé was then at the head of the party in opposition to the politics of Mazarine. He was sometimes a courtier, sometimes a politician, and sometimes a rebel in arms.

‡ Son of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Bart. and brother of Sir Edward's second wife, who finally became heiress to her father and brother.

§ See note to preceding letter.

‖ Lord Jermyn.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*

(Signed by Edward Hyde himself.)

Sr,

Yours of ye 24. of Jan: from yourselfe and Sr G. Carterett came [not] to my hands till ye post was gone, and I am now in soe great torment wth ye gowte, that I am not able to keepe off my bed, and soe must use another hand, wch I hope you will pardon. The Duke of Yorke† is now here, and conceiues all obstruccons are now remoued, wch troubled you at Brest, the Marquis of Castelnoe‡ hauing

* This letter relates to the difficulties respecting the reception and sale of prizes. Of the persons referred to, Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, was then Secretary to the Duke; Berkeley had been his Governor: Castelnau was Governor of Brest; Holder was agent for the captors; and Carteret, who had been Deputy Governor of Jersey, was then, or soon after, a Rear Admiral in the French service, though still attached to the Royal cause. Sir Richard Browne, the King's resident at Paris, had been dispatched to arrange affairs at Brest.

† The Duke of York had much personal interest at this crisis at the French Court; for he had very recently distinguished himself in the French King's service, under the command of General Count Harcourt, and against the Prince de Condé's forces, especially on the preceding Christmas day, when, though Condé was finally victorious, the Duke charged against him in person, and commanded the forlorn hope, consisting of the English cavalry. In this rencontre the Duke's horse was shot under him; but he himself received little hurt. Vide a printed pamphlet in the British Museum, "A bloody fight in France, Lond. 1651-2."

‡ The hopes of Lord Clarendon from the promises of Castelnau were but indifferently founded; for the pamphlet quoted

made large promises to his Highnes: I would aduice you hereafter (though you may giue me an account apart) to send a very particular state of all the buisinesse and miscarriages there, to the D. of Yorke himselfe, Sir John Berkeley, or Mr. Bennett; since all redresse must be obteyned by y^e^ sole mediacon of his R. Highnes, and you shall doe very well to expresse at large the misdemean^rs^ and cheates of y^r^ Captaines,* whom upon all occasions Mr. Holder hath wonderfully magnifyed. You must take spetiall care for y^e^ safe and speedy conueyance of this inclosed from the King to the Gouern^r^ of Innisbofine,† and I pray

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in the preceding note expressly states that at this period the return of the Cardinal Mazarin into France with a force of 7000 men had produced great jealousies at that Court, and that Castelnau and Villeroy having forwarded his return, on purpose to undo him, were suspected by him, and had therefore forsaken the Court. Castelnau's deputy had pretended an order from his Court to detain the prizes, in hopes of being bribed by the captors.

* This little squadron had been recently very active, particularly in the chops of the Channel; but the republican newspapers of that day affected to treat them with great contempt. In one of those, of the 8th of the preceding month, preserved in the British Museum, it was roundly stated that Capt. Chapman, in the Recovery, convoying a small vessel for Ireland, had met with the Francis, the Patrick, and the Hunter, and maintained a gallant fight from eleven at noon till night parted them. Prince Rupert is also stated to be at this period at sea, "with six or seven lusty ships," and to have taken several Spanish vessels.

† It was reported in the London papers that the King intended to set out for Rome, professing openly to own the Catholic religion, on which terms it was promised to him that

send the other to Sir George Carterett, if he be gone, and excuse this shortnesse, w^ch^ my extreame payne produces. I am,

S^r^,

your very affecconat humble seru^t^,

Paris, 8 ffeb: 1652. EDW. HYDE.

Sir Rich. Browne.

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

S^r^,

Within 2. howers after my last to you of the 17. were sent away, I receaued both yours of the 5 and 9. of this moneth. I am entirely vnacquainted with the person or the purposes of your Capt: Anthonie,* nor do I heare that he is in these partes. I should imagyne, that whateuer else he does, he will neuer putt himselfe in the power of the Hollander, whome he hath sufficiently prouoked and damnifyed.† I cannot giue you any good accounte of the transactions betweene this Crowne and the English Rebells, only that ther is nothinge like that order, of which you say

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the Duke of Lorraine should make a diversion in his favour in Ireland, by the relief of Galway, and by a general interference in affairs in that quarter.

* Commander of one of the privateers attached to the Royal cause.

† The Royal fleet and the privateers were, at this period, in a great distress for a port to shelter them, in consequence of the Parliament having captured the Scilly Islands, which had for some time been their principal harbour; Jersey also having fallen.

you are aduertised from Rowen, that Pr: Ruperte* is requyred to go away with his shippes and pryses, his Highnesse hauinge all the respecte heare, and I thinke, security, he can desyre: and I heare they do not now bragg so much as they haue done, of ther treaty in Englande, and are not without some apprehension, that the Rebells of Westm. may fauour ther fellow rebells of Burdeaux:† o^r^ letters fro' London importe no new notable effecte of ther alteracon; ther Councell of the Army still sittinge at Whitehall to forme ther new modell of gouerment. I know not what to say to the complainte of your seru^t^, because you will not giue me leaue to take notice of it to the partyes who are most concerned, but I believe ther may be some errour or malice in the reporte,‡ because I am told by a very true frende of yours, that it is the maydes owne fault that shee hath not her dyett ther, and that because shee might not be trusted with the gouern^t^ of the kitchen and the buyinge the meate (in which shee was thought to lauish) shee abso-

* Though the fleet under Prince Rupert was, strictly speaking, an English one, yet it appears that in a recent attack upon the Spaniards he was avenging a private cause; for when, in the Spring of 1652, he sailed from Toulon with four men-of-war and two fire-ships, and instantly commenced hostilities against the Spaniards, taking, as his first prize, a ship worth 100,000 crowns, he put forth a declaration, in which he stated one of his reasons for this aggression to be in revenge for the injuries committed by the Spaniards against the Palatinate.—Vide Life of Prince Rupert 1683.

† Alluding to the Condé Party, then active in the south of France.

‡ Nothing can more whimsically mark the great change of circumstances of the English courtiers, than this rapid transition from national politics to kitchen gossip.

lutely with greate indignation refuses to take her dyett, with which they say the lady is much troubled: but I tell you agayne, I haue this only from a frende, and not any of the house. I doubte your mayde is apt to be angry, and when shee is, shee may be as vnreasonable, as such angry people vse to be. Upon my conscience you haue not the least reason to suspecte Geo. Carterett's* frendshipp or kindnesse to you, but you must not make his frequent writinge the measure of it, and it is very possible (for he hath bene out of all roades) he may haue written, and his letters miscarry, as yours may haue done to him.

I am very hartily,

Sr,

your most affectionate humble servt,

Edw: Hyde.

Paris this 20th of May, 1652.

Sir Ric: Browne.

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* Sir George Carteret, before this period, had been Governor of Elizabeth Castle, in Jersey, as Deputy to Lord Jermyn, besieged by the Parliamentary forces in 1651. His conduct was so loyal as to merit the praise even of his enemies, one of whom said in a letter, preserved in the British Museum, "I hear he hath sent to the Scots King, to acquaint him with the state of affairs, as touching our approach, and condition of the Castle, from whom he expects a letter; and if he with it signs a warrant for delivering up the Castle, I believe the Governor (to make his own conditions the better) will soon yield it up; yet, without it, his devout allegiance is such, that he will do nothing."

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I giue you hearty thankes for yours of the 17. which came safe, and I distributed the inclosed accordinge to ther directions; and the Kinge is resolued to obserue this order, of sendinge twice a weeke to Paris, wherby all our correspondencyes will I hope be præserued: I send you a pistole inclosed that you may keepe an euen reckoninge with your man for the portage of my letters,* which will quickly spende such a summ, so that I conclude your owne charge in this seruice is no easy burthen; for what will concerne me, I will be carefull to supply, as this wastes. Wee haue yett taken no further resolucon, then to sitt still some tyme heare, both to decerne what conclusion your distempers will produce,† and what our frends of Hollande will do: you will be careful to receaue all information and aduice from the Dutch Ambassadour‡ how affayres goe ther, and

* However trifling this caution appears about a sum so insignificant, yet it will be found, in a subsequent note, that the postage of letters was a most important article of expenditure to the exiled Royalists.

† The distempers here alluded to were the disputes, and consequent civil war, between the Condé and Mazarine partizans.

‡ Mynheer Borell. One of the Journals of that day ("Perfect Passages," 23 July, 1652,) says, "Charles Stuart, being gone from the Louvre, continues yet at St. German's, where he hath been saluted by a messenger from the Marquis of Brandenburg, inviting him into Germany. His creature Brown, and the Dutch Ambassadour Borel, are often togeather."

Borel had been Pensioner of Amsterdam, and was very much devoted to the Royal cause, having formerly been Ambassador at the English Court. He was also of the Orange party, and anxious for a war with the Commonwealth.

transmitt it hither: if our letters fro' the Hague be true, they looke more kindly towards us fro' that climate, then they haue done, and the Ambassadour hath receaued some derection to communicate with his Maty; but I know he is so iust and kinde, that he will gladly imbrace the orders, and therfore I doubte our information may not be true. The wayes I hope will be so secure shortly betweene us and you, that wee may euen visit each other.* God preserue you, and me as I am with my whole hearte,

Sr,

Your most affectionate humble Servt,

Edw: Hyde.

ffriday night this 19. of July, 1652.

Euery body sends ther letters to me, & I cannot refuse to transmitt them: you will lett your man dispose them to the seuerall posts. If the Spanish Ordinary be not speedily exspected, I pray putt this under youre cover to Bryon.†

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

Yours of the 20. came safe to me, and so the inclosed were disposed accordingly: I am sorry ther should be any hazard of hauinge our letters intercepted,‡ which I thought

* The road between St. Germain's and Paris was at that period totally unsafe, on account of the military marauders of both armies.

† Count de Brienne, first Secretary of State to the French King.

‡ The disturbances at Paris and its vicinity were at this period of such a nature as to justify the apprehensions here

by the remoone of the Armyes would haue been now without any doubte, especially since the Carry-all of this place trauelles dayly & securely to Paris: howeuer I will observe your advice, and write any thinge of importance in

you are in the King's name to
cypher: 731 . 405 . 532 . 668 . 220 . 13 . 596 . 667 .

returne his Maties very to the
333 . 502 . 239 . 13 . 699 . hearty thankes 667 . 668 .

Dutch Ambasr his Maty is
142 . 95 . and indeede 502 . 239 . 529 . exceedingly

of his kind n e s s e and
sensible 598 . 502 . 544 . 30 . 7 . 13 . 62 . 23 . 407 .

freind shipp
488 . 651 . and if God blesses him, will make it appeare

his Maty d e s i r e
that he is so. 502 . 239 . 15 . 23 . 13 . 27 . 36 . 56 .

s the Ambasr to lett him know
62 . 668 . 95 . 667 . 551 . 505 . 546 . as soone as he

the warre is d e c l a
is assured that 668 . 723 . 529 . 25 . 23 . 15 . 28 . 21 .

r e d that hee will his
36 . 7 . 26 . and then 673 . 501 . 710 . aduice 502 .

Maty what he is to do
239 . 717 . 501 . 529 . 667 . 439 . both with reference

the U n i t e d P r
to 668 . 43 . 30 . 27 . 12 . 23 . 25 . 41 . 34 . 36 .

o v i n c e s and to this
22 . 43 . 27 . 30 . 15 . 56 . 13 . 407 . 667 . 671 .

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expressed. The scandal of the day asserted also that Charles was by no means a favourite with many of the highest rank in France; and it is recorded in a Gazette, or Mercurius Politicus of the 1st July, 1652, in the British Museum, that "Charles Stuart hath secured himself by shewing them a pair of heels," (just after the victory obtained by the Prince of Condé close to Paris,) "and retreating from the Louvre to Court, where the King harbours him, being highly distasted by the Duke of Orleans, Mademoiselle, the Princes, and all the people, so that they have made several books and songs of him."

Crowne with which his Maty will in
437 . 713 . 722 . 502 . 239 . 710 . interpose 532 .
that manner as the Ambasr
673 . 573 . 30 . 23 . 36 . 401 . 668 . 95 . shall thinke
best
416 . 13 . 12. I shall not neede to bespeake your dili-
him for
gence in calling often 600 . 505 . 469 . 86.—You will do me the fauour to send this inclosed to Sr Jo. Mennes,* who I suppose is still at Calice. I pray do me the fauour to desyre Monsieur Paule to giue you the title of the Duke of Bauaria, and to informe you how longe he hath bene Duke:—You will exspecte no newes from this place wher wee haue little to doe, but to study & take the ayre, and to longe for good newes of peace in this kingdome. If the messengers dispatched from hence doe not attende you at those howres they should, it is not for want of derection heare. I haue a serious quarrell with you for somewhat Dr Earles† hath lately aduerticed me of, which in good

* Sir John Mennes was Rear-admiral of the Fleet in the reign of Charles the First; and was one of the most distinguished loyal officers, when the Parliament took those extraordinary steps which led to the defection of the greatest part of the naval force. He was removed from his station by the Earl of Warwick, in 1642, after the unsuccessful attempt of his Majesty to regain the fleet in the Humber, which failed through some mismanagement on the part of Sir John Pennington.

† Dr. Earle, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, author of the "Microcosmography," was one of the Loyalists attached to the exiled Court, and Chaplain to the King. He was in strict habits of friendly intimacy with Hyde, two of whose letters to him may be found in vol. II. of the State Papers, pp. 322, 329. In the latter, Sir Edward facetiously arranges the Doctor's leisure time, allowing him two hours to eat his dinner, and "two hours in the projecting where to get one."

earnest I take unkindly, and doubte you haue not so good an opinion of my friendship as I wish you should, and for which I must chyde you heartily when wee meeete.

Let me know particularly what you receaue from Englande, and lett your man enquyre for letters derected as Edgman * aduiced you. I am,

S^r^,

Your most affectionate faythfull Seru^t^,

EDW. HYDE.

S^t^ Germains. Tuesday morninge 23. of July 1652.

Sir Rich: Browne at Paris.

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

S^r^,

I haue not had an opportunity till now to acknowledge the receipte of yours of the 24. which came safe to me, and the contents therof were immediately by me imparted to his Ma^tie^, who had not before heard of many of the particulars, nor do wee yett heare from the Court of any such message † sent from the Duke of Orleans, which it seemes they thinke fitt to conceale, when they do not intende to satisfy.

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* Edgman was Secretary to Sir Edward Hyde, who, once vindicating him from a charge of having violated a seal, declared he knew him to be so honest, that before he would be guilty of such a villainy he would starve !

† Comparing this letter with another of the same date to Sir Edward Nicholas, in State Papers, vol. III. p. 85, it appears that the whole of the news, here alluded to, related to the negociations carrying on between the Court and the Condéans.

I am very sorry for the good Deanes * indisposicon, though I am gladd it is nothinge but a ffitt of the stone, which I am very farr from vnderualewinge, yett it seemes lesse daungerous then a vyolent ffeauour with which wee heard he labored: I pray remember my seruice very heartily to him, and send me worde quickly of his perfecte recouery.

The wante of the title of the Duke of Bauaria keepes us from making a congratulatory dispatch to him, which is requisite in seuerall respectes, therfore I pray hasten it as soone as you may: let me heare any particulars you receaue from Englande, especially how our frends at Detforde doe.† If it would be any comforte to you to haue companyons in misery, you will heare shortly that wee are in greate distresses,‡ for I cannot imagyne which way the

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* This was Dr. Stewart, Dean of the Chapel Royal, whom Clarendon, in another place, calls "a very honest and learned gentleman, and most conversant in the learning which vindicated the dignity and authority of the Church." He had been long about Charles's person; for, as early as 1646, in a letter preserved in the State Papers, vol. II. page 253, and addressed to the Prince, the King calls him an honest trusty servant, and recommends him to his Royal Highness as Dean of his Chapel, telling him at the at the same time to take the Doctor's advice, "giving reverence to his opinion in all things concerning conscience and church affairs."

† This inquiry refers to the Evelyn family at Says Court.

‡ The periodical prints of that day thus account for the King not wishing to remain at Paris. "The Scots King is still in Paris, but now upon his remove. What shall he do then? Trayl a pike under the young Lady of Orleans:" (this lady had recently raised a regiment for the French King's service against the Confederate Lords:) "an honour too large for the

Kinge will be able to procure mony for his subsistance; nor indeed how the ffrench Courte will subsiste it selfe. Wee know nothinge heare of the Spanish army: what is become of it?

You will still commende the King to your neigbour: if the wayes were once open, I would make a iourney ouer to visitt you, and to be merry 3 or 4 howres: I am very heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate humble Serut,

E. H.

St Germ: 26 July 1652 ffryday 9 at night.

I pray send me the copy of a warrant for Barronett, for I am not sure that myne is not defectiue.

Sir Ric. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

The messenger who brought me yours of the 27. is so positive in the iustifyinge himselfe, that I cannot but desyre you to examine his allegations, which if not true, he shall be no more sent on his errande, at least not by me: he sweares, he was on Saturday at your house, by 11 of the clocke, and you not being at home, he left the letters, both the Kings and myne with your mayde: this is so contrary

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late Majesty of Scotland. His confidents have satt in Council, and it is allowed by his Mother, that during these tumults in France, it is neither honourable nor expedient for him to continue in Paris, the affections of the citizens for the most part being alienated from the King," &c.

to what you say, of his not appearinge before 4 of the clocke, (which putts me in apprehension that our packetts went not by the last ordinary) that I haue a greate minde to know the certainty, and whether the fellow hath any excuse or not: I told the Kinge of the expedient you proposed, which he lyked well, only it was sayd by a stander by, that one footeman would not be alwayes willinge to make that iourny, and hauinge so little encouragement, it is no wonder, that euery man is willinge to saue his labour: I am of your opinion that the breach is already too wyde, betweene the two Commonwealths, to be easily closed agayne. I pray God wee may make good use of it, which will most depende upon your neighbours aduice and derection: I pray hasten the Duke of Bauaria's titles, &c. I wish I could tell you of a more plentifull condicon heare, because I am confident you would haue a share of it: upon my worde, the Kinge hath not yett receaued a penny of supply since his comminge hither: he hath hope of 300 pistoles, for which he gott an order at his beinge at Grubyse, but payment is not yett made:* seriously I cannot be more troubled at any thinge, then at your distresses; which I had rather see relieued then my owne: I will not surpryse you at Paris, and would be glad that the communication should be with more freedome, before I uenture thither.—I will by Saturday send you a letter for George Carterett,† from whome I wonder I heare not, but more,

* This delay is easily accounted for, by a reference to the preceding letter respecting the pecuniary difficulties of the French Court.

† Sir George Carteret, after having been forced to surrender Jersey, was very active as a sea officer in the King's service; and in the month of July, 1652, he is stated to have been on

that he forgetts his promise to you: I thought your agent ther had taken the dutyes in spetie accordinge to former aduice. The defeate of Count Harcourte* I would haue bene gladd to haue receaued more particularly: wee hauinge heare heard nothinge of it: and the Court needes none of these humilliations. God præserue you, and,

Sr,

Your very affectionate huble servt,

E. H.

St Germains this 29. of July:
Munday 3 in the afternoone
1652.

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I receaued yours of the 30. late the last night, and reade euery worde of it this morninge to the Kinge. His 502 . Matie 239 . is very much troubled that 673 . the 668 . Ambassr 95 . should receaue any præiudice for 469 . his 502 . friend 488 . s 13 . h 17 . i 27 . p 34 . p 35 . to 667 . him 505 . nor can imagyne by what hande those offices

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the coast of Flanders with 13 sail under the royal colours, making prize of English vessels. Soon after this he joined Van Tromp; and subsequently served as Vice Admiral of the French fleet under the Duke of Vendosme.

* Harcourt was a gallant and loyal French officer; but his laurels faded before the genius of the great Turenne.

are done.* The truth is, ther is so greate a licence of writinge vnder the nocon of gettinge intelligence, for which euery man thinkes himselfe qualifyed, that men care not what they write,† so they may prætende to know much, and I have seene some letters from Hollande, wherein it hath beene sayd, that the 668 . S 13 . t 12 . a 4 . t 12 . e 7 . s 62 . had 506 . giuen 493 . 30 . order to ther Ambass^r 95 . 667 . communicate all affayres with 713 . the 668 . Kinge 220 . and so it seemes others who belieued that true, may haue giuen notice of his resorte to the Louer, possibly without any ill purpose, and yett I will not absolue them from that nether: at least, folly and impertinency does the same mischieue that malice does: but the King 220 . would haue you assure the Amb^r 668 . 95 . that he will be as carefull hereafter as he desyres, and for the two papers, he 501 . will 780 . examine his cabinett, wher he is sure they are, if he did not burne them, and deliuer them to me, and I will then send them to you by some sure messenger: ffor S 13 . t 12 . a 21 . r 36 . k 51 . y 10 . and 407 . 39 . Taylor‡ 21 . 10 .

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* The De Wit party were at this period predominant in Holland, in opposition to the Orange Partizans, who were, of course friendly to the King.

† Sir Richard Browne himself had many enemies at this moment among the English Exiles; some of whom, from a wish to dismiss him from the King's service, went so far as to insinuate at Court that, "his Majesty being present, he could have no Resident." This is alluded to in a letter from Sir Edward Hyde to Secretary Nicholas, in the State Papers, III. 112.

‡ This Taylor, adverted to in former notes, was the King's

28 . 53. I am of your opinion for the first, that he is honest, but a foole: The other is more a foole, and I doubte not so honest, though yett I do not take him for a spy: nor can I imagyne it possible for them to make any sober vsefull proposicons (to 667 . the 668 . Ambass^r 95.) The Kinge will follow the aduice, (and 407 . s 13 . i 27 . t 12 . t 42 .) still, till the 668 . Ambass^r 95 . w 20 . is 529 . h 17 . e 7 . s 62 . him 502 . to 667 . moue 577. The sendinge (Lord 394 . Willmott 532 . into 667 . Germany* 186 .) is not declared, and 407 . if 531 . hee 501 . goe 491 . s 13 . (which will not be yett) hee 501 . shall not goe 491 . by 415 . Holand, 192 . the 668 . King 220 . would 728 . nott 589 . haue 514 . the 668 . Bishop 99 . propose any such thinge to 667 . the 668 . Ambass^r 95. Though he be willinge that 673 . you 731 . should 666 . lett 551 . the 668 . Ambas^r 95 . know 546 . that as low as his power is hee 501 . can 429 .

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agent with the Emperor of Germany and the Diet; as appears more particularly in a letter to him from Sir Edward Hyde (State Papers, Vol. III. p. 112), in reference to an approaching meeting of that body. But in the same volume, page 121, a very strong reason is given for Lord Wilmot's German Embassy, for Hyde says, "I am sure a wise man is wanting there; for Taylor is the most absolute fool I ever heard of."—Vide further, same volume, pp. 113, 116.

* How well the King's motions were watched by the Parliamentary spies, is evident from the fact that a journal of the 5th August 1652, states—"The late King of Scots is at St. German's, and expects daily to bee sent for by the Hollanders. The *Lord Wilmot is designed to go Ambassador from him into Germany.*"

putt such places in Irland and Scotland
615 . 654 . 618 . 13 . 532 . 204 . 407 . 363 . into
of Holand
into the handes 598 . 192 . as would inable them to torment their enimyes :* Ther is no opinion of the good
Pr. El. Pal.† The Earl of Br: was
nature and gratitude of 308 . 452 . 598 . 103 . 707 .
to councel Counsell^r of
called 667 . 121 . as an old 121 . 599 his father :‡ and it would haue bene greate pitty he should not : he is a good
L^d Digby
old man, and much my frende. 155 . intends his owne businesse and lookes not after what concernes us : I thinke I haue answered all yours : and I am able to add nothinge of this place : god of heaven præserue you, and me as I am heartily,

Sir,

Your very affectionate hu^ble Seru^t,

Edw. Hyde.

St. Germains, Wensday July
31. 8 at night. 1652.
Sir Ri. Browne.

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* This is a most extraordinary fact, and perfectly in unison with another letter from Sir Edward to Secretary Nicholas, published in the State Papers, vol. III. p. 86. Fortunately for the King's credit, and the honour of the Nation, the idea was finally dropped by both parties.

† The Elector Palatine subsequently justified this opinion ; for, when the German Princes made up a sum of ten thousand pounds for Charles, the Elector, though under great obligations both to his father and grandfather, did not contribute a single stiver.—Vide Clarendon's History, vol. III. p. 418.

‡ In tracing the conduct of the Earl of Bristol throughout these letters, the inquisitive reader will derive much amusement from Walpole's account of him as a Noble Author.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

Since I writt last to you (though it was but on ffryday night) I haue receaued 5 letters from you, two of the 2d, one of the 3. of the 4. and the 5. of this moneth, all which are now before me to be answered in order, after I have exceedingly thanked you for your diligent and very punctuall correspondence, which is so greate a virtue, that it is high iniustice not to rewarde and gratify it, which I hope will one day be done.

I have informed the Kinge of the Venetian Ambassadors complainte against Mr. Killegrew,* with which his Maty is very much troubled, and resolues upon his returne hither, to examyne his miscarriage, and to proceed therin in such a manner as shall be worthy of him, and as may manifest his respecte to that Commonweal[th], with which the Crowne of Englande hath alwayes held a very stricte amity, and

* Sir Edward, in his Life, page 116, says, that the King was at first unwilling to send Killigrew to Venice; but afterwards was prevailed upon, only to gratify him, that in the capacity of Envoy "he might borrow money of English merchants for his owne subsistence, which he did, and nothing to the honour of his master."

This letter adds some interesting historical detail upon a circumstance but slightly noticed in the page of history. François Erizzo was the Doge who acted thus cavalierly to the representative of an exiled Monarch. Perhaps one of the most prudent, yet most dignified, of the events of Charles's reign, is the affair here treated of; and the Venetian Senate, if they had any feeling for Royalty in eclipse, must have experienced a degree both of shame and sorrow for their hasty conduct!

his Maᵗʸˢ Ministers haue in all places præserued a uery good correspondence with the Ministers of that State, and therefore his Maᵗʸ is the more sensible of this misdemeanour of his Resident: However his Maᵗʸ wishes that the Republic had proceeded accordinge to the vsuall custome, and first acquainted him with ther iust exception against his Minister, that therupon his Maᵗʸ might haue testifyed his respecte to them by recallinge and punishinge him, and that they had not by a judgement of ther owne compelled him to retyre, which beinge so vnusuall a way, his Maᵗʸ doubts will not be cleerely and generally understoode, but may be interpreted to the Kings disaduantage as a declininge in this tyme of tryall that auntient friendshipp with the Crowne of Englande, which his Maᵗʸ is gladd to finde by the Ambassadour is not in truth the purpose or intention of that Commonwealth, and you are to thanke the Ambassadour in the Kings name for his particular affection to his Maᵗʸ, which he desyres him to continue.—After I had shewed the Kinge your letter, he appointed me to r e a d e it in councell 667 . 36. 23. 4. 25. 7 . 530. 532. 121. and the resolucon was ther taken for the answer, so that the very wordes which I haue used upon this argument, were consider'd and perused by the Kinge.—I have bene very much troubled for poore Mr. Douglasse's beinge sicke, and am much comforted with your good newes of his amendment: If ther had not bene 3 or 4 persons of quality heare very sicke, as my Lo: Wentworth,* . . . . Schomburgh, younge Mr. Jarmin,† who hath the small pox, and others, who

* Lord Wentworth, of whom some particulars may be found in a former note, was shortly after this sent as agent to Denmark, where he remained until the ensuing year.

† Son of Thomas, elder brother of Lord Jermyn. He suc-

would not indure the absence of ther physicon, Dr. ffrayser* had gone over to Paris to looke to him: I pray when you go next remember my seruice to him, and desyre him to be very carefull of himselfe that he fall not into relapse: I could willingly be of your minde for the certainty of one avowed messenger, but I finde it harde to lay the worke upon one man, which your passe must suppose; besydes the askinge such a warrant might possibly shutt the doore against all others, and that would not be well, for betweene the English and Dutch Letters, and the particular businesses from this place, ther is no day passes without a messenger to Paris, and an authority graunted to one might cause all the rest to be in more daunger; the conclusion is, that wee will euery Wensday morninge, or Tuesday night, send an honest fellow to you, and agayne on Saturday morninge, and in those two only I will take

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ceeded his uncle, after the restoration, in the Barony of Jermyn, but not in the Earldom of St. Alban's, and died without issue male.

* Fraser was a Scotchman, and mingled much in the religious politics of that country; he also had some political as well as medical influence at the exiled Court. Lord Clarendon, in State Papers, III. 119, says of him, "I am glad you have so good a correspondent as Dr. Frayser, who is grown (God knows why) an absolute stranger with me; he is great with Lord Gerard and Mr. Attorney, but he will speedily leave us and go for England, which truly I am sorry for, for the King's sake: for no doubt he is good at his business, otherwise the maddest fool alive."—He also speaks particularly well of him in the same volume, p. 45; yet Fraser took great offence against Sir Edward, on account of this trip to England, actually asserting that it was Hyde's wish to have him murdered when there, or that he might languish in prison until he should die of grief and hunger!

my selfe to be most concerned. I hope the Kinge of Spayne* is not deade, and then the arryvall of the ffleete will indeede prooue a cordiall. I haue the same reproaches fro' the Hague for not writinge things which I doe not know, and sometymes that are not.—You must explayne this; you say, I have not yet seene 95. both he and I haue bene to [too] busy. What do you meane by that, sure you haue not bene so, nor does any wise man thinke you can be soe: I haue the 668 . two 670 . 569 . 29 . 2 . memorialls 36 . 27 . 400 . 13 . hee 501 . sent to the 668 . 216 . K. 415 . by 502 . his 13 . Sonn 43 . 30 . 59 . which 722 . you 731 . requyred and the 220 . K. gaue me 569 . two dayes since: I will keepe them till you order me to dispose them. As I was much startled my selfe with yours of yesterday, which my Lady Harberte† sent me late in the night, concearning that 673 . the 668 . K. 220 . had 506 . giuen 493 . 30 some derections quite contrary to what I understoode to be his minde, so I gave my selfe the pleasure of perplexinge his 502 . Maty 239 . by readinge only the first parte of your letter: and when he was in trouble, and protested that he had neuer gaue any such order, I reade him that which was in cypher, with which he was wonderfully pleased, and exceedingly thankes the 668 . Ambassr 95 . and referres the proceedinge in 532 . it 530 . intirely to 667 . his 502 . dis 440 . c r e t ion 15 . 36 . 23 . 12 . 537 . and frendshipp, for as he hath

* Philip IV. He died not until 1665.

† Wife of Sir Edward Herbert, the Attorney General, and, for a short time, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

hitherto accordinge to his aduice forborne in the least degree to stirr, or moue any thinge, for feare of doinge it vnseasonably, so he very well knowes, that such an ouerture as this, timely made, may 571 . giue 493 . his 502 . frends 488 . in 13 . 532 . Holland 192 . opportunity to 667 . s 13 . a 21 . y 10 . somewhat on his behalfe,* which of themselues originally they could not doe, and therefore the 668 . K. 220 . committs the 668 . con 428 . d 25 . u 43 . c 15 . t 42 . e 23 . of 598 . wholy to t 12 . h 17 . e 23 . Ambas. 95 . and will acknowledge alwayes the 668 . good 495 . e 7 . f 18 . f 24 . e 56 . t* 12 . s 13 . to 667 . him: 505 . and ther is no doubte, if ther were an opportunity to 667 . t 12 . r 36 . e 23 . a 21 . t 42 . e 23 . on 600 . the 668 . Kings 220 . be 13 . h 416 . a 17 . l 21 . f 28 . e 18 . 7 . ther would be founde reall aduantages yett in his power (as low as it is) to 667 . giue 493 . with 713 . reference to 667 . Irland 204 . and Scotland† 407 . 363 . and really I have reason to belieue that wee

* On consulting a letter of the 2d August to Secretary Nicholas, then residing in Holland, it is evident that this passage refers to the former proposals for the delivery of certain places, both in Scotland and Ireland, to the Dutch.

† The King's wishes at this period are recorded in one of the public journals, ("Several Proceedings," 28th October 1652,) in a letter from Paris. "Charles Stuart, the Tituler Scots King, lives in the Palace Royall, and still in necessity; his Mother went to Challeau on Munday last; he impatiently expects this peace; he could wish to be now in Ireland, so he told some of his own Creatures of late; so would all about him: yet Ormond and Inchiquin tell him plainly that those who

could speedily make 580 . 213 . Jersey, Guernsey, and 191 . 407 . Scilly 13 . 27 . 28 . 52 . 10 . at 402 . our 603 . deuocon. You must lett the Ambass^{r} 668 . 95 . know 546 . that the 668 . K. 220 . hath this day dispatched Lord 549 . Taff* 12 . 21 . 18 . 24 . to 667 . the 668 . Duke 446 . of 598 . Lorrain 231 . (with whome he is in singular creditt, and is indeede a very honest man) to 661 . con 428 . i 27 . v 1 . r 36 . e 23 . him 505 . not 589 . in any degree to disturbe Holland 192 . but 417 . on 600 . the other hande . to 667 . declare that he 501 . will 710 . assist 401 . 13 . 529 . them 12 . 676 . against 414 . 13 . England 12 . 164 . which I doubte not he will doe heartily. I conceaue my L^{d} Inchiquin† (though I haue not spoken with him of it this day) does not speedily

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most oppose the Commonwealth are but Ulster men, which doe not much care for him, and are only for their own ends, which if they could obtain, would never look upon a King, and that if they promise to be faithful to a Parliament they would be constant."

* Lord Taafe was particularly active in the King's Councils, with respect to the affairs of Ireland. A Gazette of that day, alluding to the King's Hibernian proceedings, says, when speaking of the proposed operations of the Duke of Lorraine—"Lord Taafe is the man that manageth the business with the King, which is much opposed by the Lord Wilmot, and some others, as a course very improbable: and this hath occasioned a quarrel, and afterwards a challenge, betwixt Taafe and Wilmot, which with much ado was composed by the Scots King."

† It had been intended, at this period, that Lord Inchiquin, accompanied by Jermyn, should go as Ambassador to Holland, to prepare matters for Charles's reception there.

intende to make use of his passe, but will send to you agayne about it, before he exspects it fro' you.—It is very true ther was such a summ of mony lately receaued at Paris for the Kinge as you mention, and 40. pistoles of it disposed to that Lady, which is all the mony he hath receaued since he came hither, and in some tyme before, and he hath hope to receaue iust such a summ agayne within these few dayes, but alasse it doth not inable his cooks and back-stayres * men to goe on in the provydinge his dyett, but they protest they can undertake it no longer I hope ther will be shortly another manner of receipt, and then if you should be left out, I should mutiny on your behalfe: in the meane tyme, if it would giue you ease, I could assure you, my L^{d} . . . . .

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* The public journals, in real or fictitious letters from Paris, asserted loudly that the "quondam" King, as they styled him, had grown so hateful to the people of that city, "since Loraigne's treason, being afraid lest he might find such entertainment from them at the new bridge as others had experimented, and being reduced to nothing to subsist on, and having beggared a multitude of bakers, brewers, butchers, and other tradesmen, on Saturday last departed out of this town with all his family *(nullo relicto)*. The Prince of Condé and Beauford accompanied him about a league off the town; he is gone to St. Jermin's, and from thence to St. Dennis, intending for Holland, where keeping a correspondence with the Duke of Loraine, and likewise with his Mother and his brother Yorke, who are to remain yet in France, he hopes to worke some mischiefe to the State of England."

We suspect, from the internal evidence of this Parisian letter, that, like many others of modern date, it is of London manufacture—"*mutato nomine*," &c. It is not the less curious! *for in those days the public papers were printed with an Imprimatur from Hen. Scobell, Clerk of Parliament!!!*

nor I have one cardicue in the worlde, yett wee keepe up our spiritts: ffor gods sake do you so to, and he will carry you through this terrible storme.—My L^d^ Jermin is this day gone to the Courte, how longe he stayes I know not. We haue no newes, at least that I know. I pray tell us as much as you know of the Armyes mouinge, and what hope ther is of peace. I am,

Sr,

your very affectionate hu^ble^ servt,

Edw. Hyde.

St Germans this
Tuesday the 6. of Aug.
6. at night. 1652.

This messenger is to returne as soone as the fflanders letters are arryved.

Sr Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

That yours of the 10. of December (which came to my handes the same day that I dispatched my last to you) hath yett brought you no answer, is not my faulte, for as I was takinge penn & paper to do it on Sunday last, your other of the 14. arryued, which derected me to change my cource of writinge, and to send no more to Nantz,* but to St. Malos: and indeede I was very gladd to finde that you were bounde for Brest, wher I should haue wished you, notwithstanding any discouragements you receaued from

* Sir Richard Browne was, at this moment, very active in endeavouring to collect the King's dues on the prizes brought into the different ports of France.

thence, except you could bringe a recommendation from this Courte: for Mr. Holder* writes me worde, that a letter from Mounr Castlenoe would signify very little. I am confident the letter you haue from our Master, will præserue you from any affronts, and then sure your beinge ther will be at least for your owne aduantage, both to collecte what is dew to his Maty upon accounts,† which must be worth somewhat, and will be easily discouer'd by what Mr. Holder hath receaued from the Duke, and to receaue the dewes upon ther last pryzes, which will, they say, amounte to a rounde summ.—Though Sr Geo. Carterett was gone out of the towne, when I receaued yours of the 10. yett very contrary to my expectation he returned hither 3 or 4 dayes after, and stayed only one night, when I shewed him your letter; sure he will do all the good offices to you in all thinges he is able. My Ld . . . . . will obserue the caution you giue him, and will be gladd you can discouer any monyes to be dew to him, and he will glady giue you authority to receaue it; indeed a supply will come as seasonable to him as to any body, for when I haue told you, that none of us haue receaued a penny since you went, you will beliene our necessityes to be importunate enough,

* Holder was Secretary to Prince Rupert. He was loyal, and it appears from Lord Clarendon's State Papers that great dependence was placed on him when wanted: yet Sir Edward calls him "the pert, importunate agent of the Catholics." See also p. 272.

† The difficulty which the King experienced in raising any money upon the prizes, is alluded to in "Perfect Passages" of the 15th October 1652: "Prince Rupert hath lately seized on some good prizes; he keeps himself far remote, and makes his kinsman, Charles Stuart, make a leg for some cullings of his windfalls."

which would be more insupportable, if wee did not see the King himselfe reduced to greater distresse then you can believe or imagyne. I perceaue the arrest of ffarrande, is upon some pique betweene the Duke of Vandosme and the Marshall Melleray,* betweene whom the contests grew very high, and are like to breake out to such a degree that the Courte is not without apprehension, that it shall not conteyne them both to its seruice, and seemes at present, to be vnsatisfyed with the Marshall, and I heare some letters of reprehension are sent to him; therefore this arrest is not like to produce any aduantage to his Maty, besides that it seemes the shipp is out of the power of the Marshall. I haue giuen Choquex the papers, and will conferr with him what is to be done, for it is I perceaue true that the shipp and all the furniture was really putt into his handes by Pr. Ruperte,† so that besides the restitution of the vessell, there will be a large accounte to be made: When any thinge is resolued, you shall haue an accounte of it.

I am very gladd you haue had so good successe in your suite, I hope it is but an instance of future good fortune at Brest, wher ther is much dew, if you haue receaued so little, as I haue formerly hearde you haue mentioned:—I præsume you haue kept an exacte accounte of all you haue

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* Melleray was Governor of Nantes.

† Prince Rupert, just before this period, was in the West Indies, and had with him a fleet of fifteen sail, to which eight Dutch ships were joined in October. He is stated in the journals to have captured ten rich English vessels, whilst cruizing off St. Kitts. It is a remarkable circumstance, however, that another journal, the "Perfect Passages," places him off Cyprus, and describes him as capturing all vessels that pass him in the Levant.

had upon those assignations, which I putt you only in minde of, because upon conference with S^r^ Geo. Carterett, he could not belieue it had bene possible, that upon so many pryzes as he obserued to be brought in, you should touch so little, as I assured him had come to your handes. When you went from hence, and vpon occasyon of somewhat I writt lately in a letter to Mr. ..... of the no profitt accrewed to his Ma^tie^ upon that receipte, he answered me that it was impossible much could come to his Ma^tys^ owne receipte, when he granted so large assignments out of it, and so mentioned in the first place, what was allotted to you, as if it had bene payde.—Wee know nothinge of Englande more than that your ffrench Minister was landed at Dover. Wee shall shortly see what his reception hath bene, and shall then better guess at the effects: in the meane tyme, we are at no ease heare. My Lo: of Rochester (for that is my L^d^ Willmotts title)* is to sett out from hence on Thursday morninge, he trauells with a small trayne, and hath it in his power to assume the title of Ambassadour,† which I suppose he

* There was a considerable difficulty in finding a proper title for Lord Wilmot, since his first proposed one of Essex was claimed by Lord Capel, and that of Danby by the Attorney General; upon which, as stated in the Clarendon Papers, III. 121, "my Lord declined that title, and so his patent is drawn up for the Earl of Rochester."—Also III. p. 57.

† It was hoped that he would be able to induce the German Princes to advance money for the King's private expenditure; and also to interfere with the Dutch, and render them disposed to undertake some decided step in his favour. The King must, certainly, at this period, have been in extreme distress, if we are to credit a letter from Paris in the "Several Proceedings"

will choose to declyne, and do his businesse in a priuate way, which will procure a speedyer dispatch.—God præserue you.

I am, Sr,

your very affectionate hu^ble^ Servt,

E. H.

Pallais Royale this
24 of Decemb. Christmasse Eue, 1652.

Commend me to Mr. Holder, and lett him know I have now receaued his of the 13.

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of 13th December, which asserts that "the titular King of Scots is reduced to so low a condition that he is forced to eate his meals in taverns here at Paris, having not the commodity of dining at home."

The distress of the King and his friends may indeed well be imagined, when Sir Edward Hyde, not three months before this date, thus expresses himself in a letter to Sir Edward Nicholas: "It is no wonder you should desire to be eased, as much as may be, of all kinds of charges. I am sure I have as much reason as any man living to join with you in that thrift; yet I cannot avoid the constant expense of seven or eight livres the week for postage of letters, which I borrow scandalously out of my friends pockets, or else my letters must more scandalously remain still at the post-house; and I am sure all those which concern my own private affairs would be received for ten sous a week, so that all the rest are for the King, from whom I have not received one penny since I came hither, and am put to all this charge; and yet it is to no purpose to complain, though I have not been master of a crown these many months, and cold for want of clothes and fire, and owe for all the meate which I have eaten these three months, and to a poor woman who is not longer able to trust."

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I haue receaued yours of the 22th from Nantes, and am very gladd that you haue passed that parte of your iourny so well; I hope the rest will be as successfull, though I do not exspecte you should finde as good weather to bringe you home, as you haue had to carry you out: The Spanyard* desyred me to giue you my thankes for your care of him, which I do very heartily, and conceaue by this tyme he is gotten into his owne Country, and I do not thinke he will euer visitt ffrance agayne, which he hath no reason to loue, but for the English which he founde heare. Ther hath beene yett no letter from the Mareschall de Melleray, which ther was no reason to exspecte, if you had not mentioned it, as somewhat you thought intended; I am exceedinge gladd that he proceeded so roundly with the English Rebells, as to arrest both the shipps and goods,† I wish they did so in all other partes of ffrance, that they might proceede a little more briskely towards ther greate worke, then yett they appeare to doe, but if I am not deceaued, the English will quicken them shortly, if they haue any spiritts left.

* This is a part of the private history of the time, to which there is no certain clue. There were some plans in agitation on the part of the Condeans to persuade both England and Spain to aid them with their arms; and as at this period there were two powerful political parties at Madrid, perhaps the man alluded to may have been a secret agent in the politics of the day.

† This is an event not elsewhere recorded; unless it alludes to the seizures of some ships at Dunkirk, afterwards restored to Cromwell by the French Government.

You must not suspecte your frends kindnesse and affection to you, when I tell you, that your arrett is not yett dispatched: you know how little seruice I can do in that kinde by any personall sollicitation of my owne, more then by callinge upon Sir Ri: Foster,* which I haue often done, and in truth I thinke him to be as carefull in all that concernes you, and in this particular, as a frende can be: But the truth is, he hath beene ill since you went, and your Aduocate hath bene neuer with him, not at home when he went to finde him, and the setlinge the kings businesse with the Surintend't (which is yett farr from beinge setled) hath so worne out the good old man, that he hath not bene yett able to settle yours, which he promises me to dispatch out of hande: I forgott likewise to tell you, that this man is gone from him, which leaues him so much the worse.

I receaued this weeke a letter from S^r^ Ger. Lucas, under a cover to you, dated from a place called I thinke . . . . . , I suppose it is somewher in Britany, and I belieue you haue some addresse to him, therefore I trouble you with the inclosed.—All heare are your Seru^ts^: God præserue you. I am very heartily,

S^r^,

Your most affectionate humble Serv^t^,

Edw: Hyde.

Pallais Royall 29 of Novemb. 1652.

The Kinge would have you giue Mr. Richards all assistance in executinge the orders for the Patricke & Francis,† formerly granted to S^r^ G^e^ Carterett: the 10^th^ & 15^th^ are to be payd to the proper receauers.

Sir Ri: Browne.

* Sir Richard Foster was keeper of the King's privy purse, though he seldom was lucky enough to have any cash in it. Vide Clarendon's State Papers, vol. III. p. 46.

† Two of the Jersey privateers.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr

I haue receaued yours of the 26. of Decemb. and am very gladd that you were then upon your way to Brest, wher sure your presence will be more necessary than at Nantes, though it may be, your company was not much desyred ther: you will I suppose finde the seamen and Capt: weary of that Porte, and therefore you are like to be the more wellcome to them, with the proposicon from the Marechall de Melleray,* and if they were once induced to goe to Porte Lewes, I would mooue the Kinge to take notice of it, and to write to the Marechall: I hope you haue founde good store of mony for your selfe at Brest, from the pryzes which haue bene brought in, & that you finde that trybe of Captayns as towardly as Mr. Holder reported them to be, who hath a wonderfull esteeme of them: Though I do not loue to infuse any iealosyes or distrust in any man, of his frends, and those of whome he hath a good opinion, yett I haue reason to warne you, to be a little upon your guarde, and not too freely to imparte all you know or thinke 667 . 568 . 17 . 2 . 28 . 15 . 23 . 36 . 704 : trust me is 4 . 699 . 726 . 573 . and so sottishly cor-

to Mr. H. o l d e r

who a ... weeke man

* Melleray was at this momont a great object of jealousy to Cardinal Mazarine, who caused a letter to be sent to him from the King, inviting him to Court, and adding an offer of the command in Champagne; but the Marshal was aware that this was an intrigue to get him and his son to Court, they being suspected as friendly to the Condé party, and therefore he excused himself on pretence of illness, &c. He was Governor of Nantes.

in his Religion that hee
rupted 534 . 502 . 337 . 673 . 501 . belieues whatsoeuer
p r i e s t
any 34 . 36 . 27 . 7 . 13 . 12 . sayes to him, how ridiculous soeuer, and to all these virtues he thinkes himselfe wiser than Solomon. Ther are some other reasons for this caution, which I cannot expresse at large, which make me belieue
he is not so iust to you he
that 501 . 529 . 589 . 645 . 538 . 667 . 731 . as 501 . ought to be. We are all heare in the same beggarly condicon* you left us, which I thinke by longe custome will grow a seconde nature to us: I should be glad to heare that Sr Geo. Carterett were come to Brest.—God præserue

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* This is rather extraordinary, when even the Parliamentary journals in England state the following remarkable facts, in November 1652: "The King of Scots lies yet in the Palace Royal, whither the King and Queen came to give him a visit, and in abundance of ceremony, to thank him for that great pains he had taken in labouring the healing up of those sad breaches between his Majesty and his people; which Christian office has gained him at Court the title of *Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Periclī Dissipator Gallici, Pacisque Compositor Generalissimo.* 'Tis rumoured that the King of Denmark should send him £.100.000 in gold for a present, with the promised assistance of him and his subjects in the disputing of his cause against all opposers. The Duke of Yorke is still in high favour, and is cryed up for the most accomplished gentleman, both in arms and courtesie, that graces the French Court. The English begin to be admitted dayly into places of high trust and command; and those shaded Cavaliers, whom the world thought worthy of nothing but exilement, begin to be looked upon according to their worth and known gallantry."

you, and bringe us well togither agayne:—I am very heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate hu^ble^ Servt,

Edw. Hyde.

Paris this 11 of January 1653.

Sir Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I haue yours of the 3^d^ and the 6. of this moneth: and you had receaued an answer to the first before the last had come to my hands, if it had bene in my power to haue returned you such a one as could haue satisfyed my selfe. I was as full of the sense of the iniury and indignity that is offred to your Captaynes at Brest, and truly so is the Kinge, as they could wish, but you know iniuryes and acts of iniustice are not as soone remedyed and repayred heare, as dicouered: The Kinge wished young L^d^ Jermin, Mr. Atturny and my selfe, to consider what was to be done, and wee were all of opinion, knowinge what Princes all Gouernors are at present in ffrance, that it would not be fitt to mooue the Courte, which no doubte knows nothinge of this arrest and restrainte, nor it may be of the bargayne and connivance for the admissyon of our shipps (for you know wee haue bene longe without the benefitt of the printed Order you mention) before Mons. Castlenoe (from whome the orders were without question sent, for his owne benefitt) be first spoken with, and my L^d^ Jermin* pro-

* Jermyn's influence at the exiled Court had for some time been very great; and is thus described by a journalist of that

mised to doe that presently, and he hoped effectually; but wee finde after longe enquyry that Mons. Castlenoe is gone out of this towne to the Cardinall, nor is it knowne when he will returne, and yett it is thought as necessary, that his minde and resolucon be first vnderstoode: Therefore my L^d^ Jermyn hath written to him, and inclosed the state of the case, made out of your letters, and Mr. Atturny hath

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period, in a volume of Tracts in the British Museum: "The little Queen is retired to the nunnery at Chaliot, there to spend her time a while in devotion, for the advance of some designes that she hath on foot; she left her son the fugitive at the Louvre, given up to the bent of his Common Prayer Mongers, and of Jermyn, whose power is now greater with him than any; which is a sure sign that his Mother rules him again, and that he hath resigned his judgment, affection, and all to her, because heretofore there was a sore grudge between him and Jermyn, in regard at his former being here [Paris] Jermyn (who then commanded and still keeps the purse) was very streight handed over him in his expences.——The old Court flies begin now again to flock about him" (30th Dec. 1651) "from all parts. Crofts is returning from Poland, where he called himselfe a Lord Ambassadour, and is to be made a Lord, as soon as he comes (as they would have us believe), for his pains in that employment, and for the charitable contribution of our Polish cousins that (they say) he brings along with him. Some of them are come to the Louvre already out of Flanders, as Hide, a man of dignity too, that calls himself the Chequer Chancellor; here is also Bramhall, of London Derry, Dan O'Neill, Fraiser, a physitian, and one Lloid, a Chaplain. These bring newes, that Buckingham and Secr. Nicholas would have come along too, but that they wanted Ghelt; and the rest of his Majesties black guard and retinue that wander in the Low Countries, if they were sure of daily bread for their attendance."

sent the same to the Duke of Yorke, who wee presume is most like to gett a full dispatch in it, and wee must expecte the answer from thence, and then if there be any cause to complayne at Courte, wee will take the best care wee can, that it be made as it ought to be.

ffor the other businesse concerninge the Marq: of . . . . . , of which I thinke I writt somewhat to you in my last, Mr. Atturny and I haue spoken with Choquy of it, who exspects euery day an answer to what he hath formerly sent to the Marq: and when that comes, or that it appeares he desyres not to make any answer, the Kinge will conclude what he should doe as to the revocation.

ffor your Hamborough pryse, you cannot suppose that I will returne a priuate opinion of my owne, in a businesse of that nature, for many reasons, and the Kinge commanded me to aduise with Mr Atturny, and upon both our consideringe the case, as Mr Holder sent it me, wee doe not see it so cleerely stated, as to be able to giue the King any iudgement upon it, since it does not appeare that the goods do at all belonge to any English marchant or ffactor, but for ought appears may be the proper estate of the Hamberghers.

I did not suppose they had suffred you to giue any adiudications ther, and that the former arrest had bene made at Rhemes upon that quarrell: We hope the Duke will be heare within 2 or 3 dayes, and then it will be necessary to receaue his derection upon all this businesse. My Ld Inchiquin and I are upon some trouble with your Landlord, who yesterday was at your house, and expresses some purpose to seize upon the goods; which we all vnderstande would not only be very mischieuous to you, but very dishonorable to the Kinge, and therefore you may be confident that wee omitt nothing that is in our power to doe, hauinge

not a penny to discharge the debte.* This day Sr Ri: ffoster goes with my Ld Inchiquin to him, to see how farr good wordes and promises will prevayle with him, and all other courses shall be really taken for his satisfaction, that are in the Kinges power. Will ther be nothinge dew upon the Kinges owne share of the pryses brought in by the Patricke & Francis, that might be imployed to that purpose? any order should be procured from hence.

I pray convay this inclosed to Ge: Carterett, who I suppose is not still with you. God præserue you. I am heartily.

Sr,

Your most affectionate huble Servt,

Edw. Hyde.

Pall: Ro: this 21 of Jauuary 1653.

Sir R. Browne.

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* The distress of the King may be faintly appreciated from an extract from the Mercurius Politicus, 8th July 1652, where it is stated: "Charles Stuart, who was said to be gone in our last [from Paris] went not not till some few days after. He made the more haste, because a servant of his was fallen upon, pursued, and beaten, even in his master's place of abode at the Louvre. Hee also was besieged there by the bakers, butchers, and other tradesmen of all sorts, in whose books he is faln very deep; and they feared, if they lost him they should lose their money. But to pacify them they were told his intent was but to go to Rosny upon the way to Roan. His mother marches with him. The small baggage they have is already gone. They give out that they will returne after the peace is made, and condemn this City of ingratitude; alledging that it had bin blockt up by the King before this time, had it not bin for their mediation with his Majesty."

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I haue receaued yours of the 7th from the good Govern^r and yourselfe, and this must serue as answer to you both, for I am still in my old posture, not yet able to stirr from my bed. I have not heard these many weekes from Mr. Holder, but I suppose he giues the same informacon to the Duke and his officers, if not, what he sayes is likely to be belieued more then what I shall informe, therefore I must still renew my aduice to you, that you write very particularly to the Duke himselfe, or to some of his officers, of all the obstruccons you meete with, and very particularly of the misdemeanours of the Captaines,* and of any such proposicons and expedients which you thinke fitt to offer for the promoting his seruice, and I make noe doubt but his Royall Highnes will as soone hearken to you, and be aduiced by you, as by any persons. I can giue you no intelligence from hence, whilst I continue thus a prysoner, but truely I thinke they who are abroad know little of moment, the Court here being wholy intent upon battels and matters of pleasure, and our owne affaires being in a dead calme, exspecting some gentle gale from some of our neighbours to give them motion, and really I doe beliene y^e good spiritt does improve, since no body can doubt, but y^t the

* The Duke of York was actually at this period with the French Army under Turenne; and though he here appears to have been personally interested in the affairs of the little squadron of privateers, yet there is no mention of it whatever in the Life recently published from his own Memoir.

people in England are generally well prepared for it. This is all I can say to you, but y^t^ I am to you both

your most affectionate humble servant,

EDW. HYDE.

Paris 18 Feb. 1653.

The King hath lately bene aduertised by the Gouernment of Innisboffine, that if any Marchantmen will bring corne, armes, or ammunicon thither, they shall be sure to receiue ready money for it, and that such a supply would enable them for some time to exspect greater, and not to submitt to the rebells. If it were possible to procure any of your Men of War, or any Marchants to resort thither, it would be a wonderfull good seruice, therefore I pray deuice all wayes possible to compasse it, and let me know how the seuerall letters I sent to you directed to y^t^ place haue bene disposed off.*

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

S^r^,

I am sure it can be no newes to you that Pr. Rupert is safe at Nantes,† and therfore it is very probable this letter

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* These plans and hopes were soon after put an end to by the capture of Innisboffin by the Parliamentary Army, it being then the last place in Ireland that held out for the King.

† This was the last of Prince Rupert's maritime expeditions during the Interregnum. On his return to Europe he captured a rich prize laden with tobacco, and having carried her into Nantz, in March 1653, he was soon after seized with a violent illness, recovering from which he proceeded to Paris,

may not finde you at Brest, but that you may haue thought it fitt to attende his Highnesse, and offer him your seruice. The Kinge hath sent Mr. Holder some derection concerninge the Hamborough shipp. If George Carterett * be not with you, I pray send this letter to him by the first safe opportunity, and if he hath not a coppy of your cypher, send it to him, I havinge used it in this letter for 3 or 4 lynes, which it is necessary for him to understande. Excuse me, who hauinge no letter of yours to answer, for beinge at present so shorte, which you know is not my naturall faulte. Wee haue reason to hope the Kings affayres are upon a mendinge hande, with reference to Hollande.—God be with you. I am very heartily,

Sr,

your most affectionate Serut,

Edw. Hyde.

Paris this 22 of March (1653).

Sir Ric: Browne.

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and was well received by the French King. From thence he went to the Imperial Court; but returned to England at the Restoration.

The small fleet now under the command of Prince Rupert had been originally re-fitted at Toulon; but having met with losses of ships, particularly at the Azores, where his own flagship, the Reformation, had been sunk, and the whole crew of 360 men perished, with the exception of Rupert, his brother Maurice, and twelve others, it was found necessary to return to the Northern parts of France, particularly as Admiral Penn, with his squadron, was waiting for them in the Streights of Gibraltar.

* Sir George Carteret, a little before this time, commanded a small squadron of the Royal ships, with which he cruized,

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

About three days since I receaued yours of the 24. of the last moneth, which makes me still wonder how it comes to passe, that yours are so longe upon the way, for it is not possible that the post can be 12 or 14 dayes upon the way from Brest, and so much tyme ther is still betweene your writinge and my readinge. I suppose the Governour is now gone to Nantes, or else he will not wayte on the Prince, which I should be sorry for. the Kinge sent his coach on Wensday to Orleans, supposinge it will meete his Highnesse * ther, or that he will be ther within a day or 2 after, so that wee exspecte him heare on Tuesday or Wensday, and till his returne I do not conceaue that you neede putt your selfe to the troble of a iourny, and if ther be then any occasyon for it, I will aduertise you: If the euidence against the Captaynes be so pregnant as it seemes by you to be, of seueral theftes and cozinages, how would it be possible for the Judge to declare them innocent? and though it may, it would be difficulte to obteyne iustice against them in that jurisdiction, yett the declininge to giue in the testi-

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principally upon the coast of Ireland, and greatly to the annoyance of the Republican Party, if we may judge from their splenetic observations in the journals of the day.

* Prince Rupert. This event is much noticed in the London journals of that period. These journals also assert, upon the authority of some runaway seamen, who landed at Weymouth, "that all the plunder he hath brought is not worth £10,000, and the Swallow is hallen up altogether unserviceable."

mony and charge against them before the proper officer (though it is possible he will not haue power enough to cause reparacon to be made, if he had the will to do it) will be made a greate countenance to them, as if the allegations were not waighty; and I finde (though I am a stranger to all that is done on that syde of the house) that the Captaynes are upon all occasyons much magnifyed, as excellent vsefull ministers.—I am very gladd of that order you mention, against the transportinge the necessaryes for shippinge, which I wonder the more at, because wee conceaue the ffrench Minister at London euery day getts grounde, but I hope they will deceaue each other.—Innisboffin was poorly giuen up aboute the middle of ffebruary, so that now I feare the poore Irish haue only woods and boggs for shelter; I pray keepe all those dispatches safe by you, but you neede not send them backe, till you come your selfe. Hath Ge Carterett a good opinion of Anthonio? I hope ther will be some parte of your house-rent payd out of hande, but I know not what to say to your assignements upon the Prince, who no doubte will haue occasyon to vse all and more then he can haue brought home, to repayre and fitt out his shipps.*—It is a good and conscientious thinge to pay off any old debts, and good husbandry to discharge those first, for which interest is to be payd; but if I were in your case, I should satisfy my selfe, in keepinge mony

* These were the shattered ships which had returned to Nantz from the West Indian cruize; but another portion of the Royal squadron was now favourably received in the ports of Holland; as is asserted in the "Moderate Publisher" of the 15th April 1653. Indeed it was generally reported that the States had now resolved to give to Charles the title of *King of Great Britain*.

enough in my purse to præserue me a yeere from staruinge, before I thought of paying any debtes. Wee do flatter ourselves with an opinion that our affayres will mende, and that wee shall not stay longe heare, indeede I belieue our Master will putt himselfe into some action this summer, and that wee shall not spende it in ffrance.* God præserue you and,

Sr,

your very affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^,

E. H.

Paris this 12. of April (1653).

Indorsed by Sir R. Browne;

From Mr. Chancellor of theExchequer, 12 Ap^l^ 1653. Received 19 Ap^l^.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^ble^, 21 April 1653.

Two dayes since I receiued your Hon^rs^ of 12^th^, by which it appeares that it made better speede hither, then it seemes mine commonly doe to Paris, the cause whereoff is, that betweene this place and Morlaix there is noe settled convaiance, only the opportunity of such carriers who come uncertainly from thence hither once or twice a weeke to fetch linnen cloth. I haue not yett heard one word from the Gouernour since his goinge hence: butt Mr. Holder (who yesterday returned from Nantes) assures mee that hee had beene with the Prince some dayes before his Highnesses

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* This was a vain hope, for Charles remained in France until the ensuing year.

going for Paris; and that His H. did also acknowledge to him to haue receiued my l're by Sir G: Carterett.*

I perceive the French minister is nott returned (as wee were made beleiue) out of England, which I am sorry for, butt hope God in his due time will doe our worke by puttinge his Maty into some successefull action worthy his Royall undertakinge: and shall with impatience exspect to heare how in case our Maister leaue the kingdome, I shall bee inabled to returne to Paris (one handsome stepp to which the discharge of my house-rent will proue), or be otherwayes disposed off in order to his seruice. If wee had faire play the Kinges dues here would rise to somethinge, butt with this most abominably shockinge Gouvernour there is such an unpreuentable tyranny in the vpper and corruption of the under officers in this place where we are but *precario*, that it is a shame to see it.

Captain Antonio hath vppon that score quite left this

* How very little chance the Privy Purse had of assistance from the assets of the squadron, may be judged from a letter of Hyde's to Nicholas, where he says: "You must never expect information from me of any of the business of the prize, or any thing that is managed by Prince Rupert, who consults only with the Lord Keeper; and I much doubt very little of that money will come to the King. I shall be satisfied if what is raised on the guns and ship (for all is to be sold) come justly to his hands." Vide State Papers, vol. III. p. 200.—And again, in p. 222, he speaks more feelingly: "The truth is, Prince Rupert is so totally governed by the Lord Keeper [Sir Edward Herbert], that the King knows him not. You talk of money the King should have upon the prizes at Nantz; alass! he hath not only not had one penny from thence, but Prince Rupert pretends the King owes him more money than ever I was worth."

port, and will yf hee may be beleiued be shortly with you at Paris, where he hath a proces. Sr G. Carteret will giue yr Honr an account of him; for since the receipt of your last I haue written to him soe to doe. He knowes what I thinke of him, and yf his owne opinion bee not better then mine, I doe assure your Honr it is nott admirably good: and I doe wish the Kinge would be very sparinge how hee conferre any fauour on him until he deserue better then hithertoo I can say hee hath. I perceiue you haue new councellors sworne & a grand new officer with whom I am obleeged to congratulate. God direct all for the best: soe that the generall of our affaires goe well, it matters not much what becomes of him, who is unfaignedly and æternally Yor Honrs

Most faithfull, most obliged,
and most humble seruant,
R: Browne.

Brest 21. April 1653.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Honble,

My last to your Honr were of the 28th Aprill, Munday last; the day followinge in the eueninge came priuatly to this towne the Marquis de Neubourg, youngest brother to the Marq: de Sourdiac, with another gentleman in his company; who immediately went to the Castle, and after a longe consultation with Monr de Camper concealed themselues as much as they could. Yesterday in a small fregat*

* The journals of the day, in allusion to the loyal navy, say: "The King of Scots Pickroones play their cards cunningly

which was goinge to sea with his Mat^ies commission, this Marquis, with a Captain, an officer of the Castle, & 150 men, amongst which our turbulent Captain Smyth, imbarqued as priuatly as they could with intention to goe and reduce the Isle of Ushant, for which enterprise I heare this Marquis hath brought the French Kinges orders and Mon^r de Castlenau's recommendations. And I presume the island yf taken, will as formerly bee re-annexed * to this gouvernment of Brest. Wee are in hourly expectation what the successe will bee, wheroff your Hon^r may expect account in my next, and accordingly I shall gouverne myselfe in the demand of his Mat^ies dues out of the tobacco that shall be there found, which is nott vppon this occasion to bee neglected. Nott yett one line from my deare S^r George Carteret: wee liued together like brothers; and I hope he hath nott soe soone forgotten mee.

Prayinge, &c. From your Hon^rs &c.

R. B.

Brest. 2 May. 1653.

The Hollanders bringe more prizes dayly into the ports vppon this coast. Captain Swart, who commanded The

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upon the coast of Jersey; no less then two delicate prizes have they taken and carried to Shawsey Island," (Isle du Choisi,) " amountinge to a great value; besides Captain Chamberlin playes his pranks notably, and trusses up our pore fishermen, even as a falcon doth wild ducks, forcing them to pay tribute to his young master Charles, and exacts a pistol upon all such boats that fetcheth urack [sea wrack] from the said island of Shawsey, belonging to the French King."

* This affair is rather unintelligible, unless we suppose that Ushant had declared for the Condéan party. The tobacco alluded to, may possibly have formed the cargoes of prizes carried in there by the Royal cruizers.

Patricke hath this weeke lanched a small man of warre under the Holland colours; Agent Rameng Coale hauinge undertaken to procure for him a sea-commission from the States of Holland.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I haue receaued yours of the 21. of the last, and had one little letter from the Gouernour* since his departure from you, after he had wayted on the Prince: I belieue he is now busy at Burdeaux, yett sure he will sometymes write to his frends, who haue the lesse reason to be angry with his silence, since his wife knowes so little of him, that shee askes me wher he is. Our reportes of the proceedings of the ffrench minister in Englande are so different, that I know not what to thinke of it, many of our frends at London conceauinge him even ready to come away full of dissatisfaction, & on the contrary the Courte heare belieue, or seeme to belieue, that they haue almost finished a treaty with them to ther content: if the newes which came to the towne 2 dayes since, be true, that Burdeaux hath declared it selfe a common wealth, and is promised protection fro' Englande, ther will be a quicke end of that negotiacon: I wish wee were ready to be gone from hence, though you were not so amply prouyded for, as I wish, yett I doubte not somewhat would be done towards it: in the meane tyme, I am confident Sr Ric: ffoster hath payd at least halfe a yeeres rent, but I thinke more: I know no new

* Sir George Carteret, who had been Deputy Governor of Jersey.

councellours made but the Keeper:* and wee haue now another new greate officer, Pr: Ruperte, Master of the Horse:† God præserue you, and send us a good meetinge. I am uery heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^,

E. H.

Paris this 3 of May 1653.

Sir R. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I receaued yours of the 28. of the last, and of the 2^d^. of this, togither 3 dayes since: I thought all the dutyes of the Marq^s^ pryzes had bene already in Mr. Bullins hande, and

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* Sir Edward Herbert, Lord Keeper since 1652, of whom Clarendon says, that he "thought himself the wisest man that followed the King's fortune; and was always angry that he had not more to do." His intrigues are humourously depicted by Lord Clarendon, in his own Life, page 123.

† A letter from Paris, in the journals of the day, says: "Prince Rupert is in some measure recovered of his bloody flux, but goes little abroad out of the Palace Royal, because he wants a princely retinue, which I see no probability for him to have in France yet a while. Charles Stuart is at a non plus what to do; things do not answer his expectations; his designes faile him."

Another observes: "Prince Rupert flourishes with his blackmoors and new liveries, and so doth his cousin Charles, they having shared the monies made of the prize goods at Nantz; and in recompence Rupert is made Master of the Horse."

I told him that he should, and he told me he would retayne in his owne hands the 15th for you: I will not so much as enquyre into what concernes or may relate to the 10ths. nor a worde more concerninge the commissyons, for which I am sure Edgman neuer exspected a penny, but Maffonett did, and had reason to doe, which I suppose Mr. Bennett* had not: but no more of that: nor I pray take any more notice of it.

I receaued a letter from the good Gouernour within these 2 days from Brouages, which was the first I had from him since his beinge at Nantes, though he sayes he hath writt others. It is no easy matter in that hurry he is in of businesse and remooues to write frequent letters, nor is he good at itt at any tyme, and therfore you and I shall be very vnkinde and vniust to him, if wee suspecte his frendshipp to us, for those omissyons, which all men, but those of the penn, are alwayes guilty of: he is sure a very worthy person, and loues wher he professes soe to doe: you heare what a noble confusion Cromwell hath made, by dissoluinge ther Parliamt† with all the contempt and scorne imagin-

* This is the person of whom Clarendon says, in his Characters, that he was a man bred from his cradle in the Court, and had no other business in the world than to be a good courtier, in the arts whereof he succeeded so well, that he might well be reckoned in the number of the finest gentlemen of the time; and, though his parts of nature were very mean, and never improved by industry, yet, passing his time always in good company, and well acquainted with what was done in all businesses, he would speak well and reasonably to any purpose.

† Alluding to the events of the 21st April, when he entered the house at the head of a party of soldiers, took away the mace, and ordered the doors to be locked up. A few days afterwards

able, and now those adored members, and of the Councell of State, are looked upon by all, as they deserue to be: what be ther next acte, is our great expectacon, and what influence that which is done, must haue upon forraigne nations, who were treatinge with them: sure some notable crisis is at hande, worse I hope wee cannot be. All thinges are heare as they were, S^r^ Ric. ffoster hath payed 500^li^. for your rent, and hath acquittance only for so much, but no information, what the contracte is, or how much is still in arreare. God send us a good meetinge in England, which is not despayred of by,

S^r^,

Your very affectionate serv^t^,

E. H.

Paris May 19. 1653.

Sir R. Browne.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^ble^, 20 May 1653.

Yesterday I gaue yo^r^ Hon^r^ notice of my being called to Nantes; this morninge as I am ready to putt foote in stir-

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a bill was stuck upon the door—"This House to be let, now unfurnished." The London papers of that day said, as by letter from Paris, "Charles Stuart pretends to be as glad at the dissolution of the Parliament of England, as at the coming of his brother Henry to him, but I think they are both but frolics. He hath received intelligence from Rome, that the Pope will have nothing to do with him, and in no case have dealing with him, as being not only inconstant and unsettled what to do, but unable to do any thing."

rop, Captain Sadlington's* fregat arriues from the coast of Irland with the bearer hearoff O'Sullivane Beirne,† a person whom I find noe lesse by his owne discourse then by the testimonye of all his countrymen here, very well affected to his Ma^ties^ seruice: He comes deputed from such of his Ma^ties^ faithfull subjects as yett remaine in the west side of Munster: and hastens now towards Paris to giue his Ma^tie^ an account of those parts: which though of it selfe it bee recommendation enough, yett at his request, I take the boldnesse by these to addresse him to y^r^ Hon^rs^ acquaintance, and by y^r^ fauour to his Ma^ty^: The state of whose affaires, I hope hee may by Gods goodnesse find in a condition able to afford such releife as may excite and animate these embers of loyalty into a fire, nay flame, sufficient to destroy and consume the circumambient and the now too predominant contrary of haynous treason and unparaleld

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* Captain Sadlington was retained in the service after the Restoration, and fell gallantly fighting for his country in the year 1673, on the 4th of June, in the action with Van Tromp. He then commanded the Crown, under the orders of Prince Rupert.

† O'Sullivan Beirne was a gentleman of some landed property in Ireland, living near Beerhaven, and was of such consequence in that part of the country, where the clans of O'Sullivan were very numerous, that he was chosen general of the forces raised in aid of the Royal cause. The reason of this visit to France seems to be accounted for by the following extract from the "Severall Proceedings" of the 30th June, 1653: "From Ireland it is certified, that a party of Irish, of General Bear's men, had a design to have surprized some garrisons; but, having notice, a party fell upon them in their march, routed them, and killed many; and Bear himself, with some other officers, got into a boat, and fled over into France."

rebellion. In which good omen I kisse yo^r Hon^rs hands, and rest

Y^rs &c. &c.

R. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richad Browne.

S^r,

I receaued yours of the 7. 3 dayes since and yesterday your other of the 10. and returne this by the same hande which brought me yours, which seemes to be very sollicitous and confident to returne it safely and speedily to you: I haue sent you such a letter from his Ma^ty to the Marshall, as in my vnderstandinge is necessary, and I hope if any thinge would, will præuayle with him. To have inserted the memoire it selfe would not haue bene so proper, since it cannot be supposed to be within his Ma^tys proper cognisance. Your letters concerninge O'Sullivan Beare are not come to my hands.

Upon the receipt of your former I did send the inclosed to Mr. Bennett, who hath notwithstandinge not vouchsafed to conferr with me a worde about the businesse, and when I sent to him to know whether he would send any thinge to you, and lett him know what his Ma^ty had directed, he returned me answer that I might haue spared his Ma^ty that labour, for the Duke had done the same, but I hope actes of supererogation in this kinde will do no harme: it may be he will send his letters under this cover.

Ther is no questyon that I know concerninge your accounte, it is fitt you should alwayes haue it ready, and produce it when it is called for, and I doubte not you will

receaue all iust allowance, and truly I am heartily glad that it hath brought so seasonable a reliefe to you:* our Master thinkes of remoouinge, but when or whither is not yett determined. Wee exspecte euery day newes of an engagement at sea betweene the two ffleetes, the successe of which may probably alter† the temper in both Coun-

* It appears from the public journals that a seasonable supply had arrived for the Royal family at this moment. The "Faithful Post," of the same date as this letter, says, in a letter from Amsterdam, "Here is arrived the adventurer called the Spanish Bark; coming from Rochelle: he hath taken three prizes about the West, which he hath sold in France, amounting to a great value, which is distributed by the Commander in Chief, Capt. Grimes, as followeth—to the poor distressed widow, our late Queen, £1000; King of Scots, £3000; Duke of York, £2000; Duke of Gloucester, £1000."

† The action did take place, and the Dutch were defeated. The consequences, if we are to believe a letter from Paris in the public journals, were very inimical to Charles's interests at the Court of France; for it was there stated that "the news of the defeat given by the English to the Dutch much startled the Court, and indeed all France; those of Charles Stuart's followers gave out reports at first that the Dutch had beaten the English, and that he was to go to Holland, and that they would do great things for him, and the English went vapouring of it up and down the streets, and some of them were soundly *foxt*; but the next day came news to several merchants of this city, besides letters to the Courts (which were kept more private), that the Dutch were beaten, and had sustained a very great losse: upon this there was a great meeting of the Council with the King, and their countenances very sad all about the French Court, and divers of the English going through the streets of Paris were so mocked and jeered that they have been ashamed almost to show their heads abroad."

cells, at London and at the Hague, the last still pressinge most vnreasonably ther desyres of treaty. I am very heartily,

Sr,

your most affectionate Servt,

E. H.

Paris this 14 of June 1653.

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I haue receaued yours of the 30 of June by Mr. Holmes, & a duplicate of by your mayde, to nether of which ther needes any answer, my last which you since haue had satisfyinge the contents of those. Since, your other of the 5. of July are come to my handes.

To what concernes the Marshall I can add nothinge, till I know in the way I advised what his prætences are; nor haue I any reason to imagyne that he hath taken any excepcons to your person, only when I asked, why it was desyred that the busynesse might be referred to Pr. Rupert, since being not upon the place, his Highnesse could not so easily giue direction upon it, answer was made to me, that it might be, that the Marshall desyred not to treate with Sr Ri. Browne: and truly in those cases, when men aske vnreasonable thinges, it is no wonder that they haue no minde to be pressed by publique Ministers.*

* This alludes to the rapacious conduct of the Marshal with regard to the prizes, and the stores of the ships that were sold.

I doubt I shall not be able to finde a copy of your peticon and order from the Kinge, if I can I will, nor will I do any thinge upon that businesse, till upon your view of the whole accounte you can see in what state you are, and then I will procure such orders as are necessary; till then it is to no purpose to discourse of it: nor is it proper for me to send to Mr Windham* (with whome I haue no correspondence) to know what you haue receaued from him, you will state all that upon your accounte. The course I propose to my selfe to obserue is, that the Kinge signe a warrant to you, to deducte out of your receipts satisfaction for all such warrants which he hath formerly signed upon others, and which haue prooued ineffectuall to you; and if that satisfyes for the tyme past, advise what will bee best, to order for the future.

Wee are full of exspectation what will be the issue of the treaty in Englande† betweene the Dutch and the Rebells,

* Mr. Windham, as early as 1652, had been appointed the receiver of the King's fifth in all prizes; and this by the King's special appointment, in opposition to the Duke of York's recommendation of the Bishop of Derry. The situation was one which Sir Edward Hyde had been very anxious to obtain for his godson, son to Sir Edward Nicholas. Vide Clarendon's State Papers, vol. III. pp. 112, 118.

† The public journals of the time gave a very different view of the feelings of Charles's little exiled Court, asserting that they were constantly engaged "in forms of Common Prayer" for the success of the Dutch fleet over that of England! Nor were the Saints at home particularly anxious for peace, on the pretence that the "work of the Lord is not yet done; that the sword must not be sheathed, untill they have brought down the tyranny of Rome, and restored poor ignorant captives to a gospel enjoyment of the universal freedom."

which our frends ther do not belieue like to produce any reconciliation: and then I hope wee shall quickly leave this place, the which our poore Master prouydes to doe. The same day brought the newes of the takinge Bourgue by the Duke of Vendosme and Rhetell by Marshall Turgu, and yett the Prince of Condé is confident the English will relieue Burdeaux.*

I am, Sr,

Your very affectionate humble Servt,

Edw. Hyde.

Paris this 12 of July (1653).

Sr Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr, Paris this 30th of July (1653).

I haue receaued yours of the 23. of July, as I had before your other of the 16. I deliuered your other to Pr: Ruperte, and he hath promised mee to write to the Marshall, who he sayes he knowes will make no scruple to deliuer those parcells to you and the Dukes officers, which concernes the 10th & 15ths, which beinge done, you are not to make any instances in the Kings name, for the rest, till his Maty shall be better informed, and you receaue other orders: so that you are only to looke for the 15. and 10ths.† I

* The Prince of Condé was mistaken.

† This system of temporizing with the avaricious detainer of the captured property, to which the exiled Court was reduced, is not only a convincing proof of the inhospitable conduct of the French Government, but also of their want of authority over their own officers, if they did not participate in the plunder.

desyred the Prince to send his letter for the Marshall inclosed to you, but he was not willinge to do that, because ther is an agent heare of the Marshalls with whome he transactes all, and by whome he promises such directions shall be giuen, that upon your repayringe to the . . . . . Gouernour (which is all you neede to do) that shall be done which wee exspecte: it is now the tyme that the businesse of the pryze is transactinge, and therfore the Prince desyres that all complyance be vsed towards the Marshall, and that wee do nothinge to anger him:—I finde the Mar: pretends the stoppinge the other goods upon pretence of much money dewe to him as Admirall of Britany, upon many pryzes brought into those portes by the owners of those goods. I yett heare nothing of Anthonio.

I know not what to say to your mayd, nor the information shee hath receaued, but I assure you, the King takes all possible care that the house receaues no affronte, and to that purpose hath had a consideracon of it in Councell within these 3 dayes, in which, particular order is taken, that his former directions to you, and to Dr. Cozens, be reuiued and renewed, for the keepinge up the seruice* carefully when he shall leue this place: and I had order to sende for your landlord, and together with S^r^ Ri: ffoster, to renew to him his Ma^tys^ gracious promises that he shall not be any looser: I intende this day to send to him to come hither: ther are yett only 500^lis^, payde of the rent

* Dr. Cosins (afterwards Bishop of Durham) was one of the King's Chaplains, often mentioned by Mr. Evelyn in his Diary; and this relates to having the service of the Church of England regularly performed at Sir Richard Browne's house, which Mr. Evelyn says was always done.

by Sr Ri: ffoster: when mony can be gotten, more shall: in the meane tyme, the Kinge himselfe commanded me to write to you; that you should if possible returne some mony to the landlorde, in parte of the rent, out of your receipts ther, with such a letter for his encouragement that he may vnderstande it to be his Matys mony, and sent by his order, and I thinke you will be no looser by it, for heareby I shall be able to keepe off all prætences and importunityes for other orders, wch his Maty hath promised to me. I have no more to say, but that I am,

Sr,

your very affectionate hble Servt,

E. H.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I haue receaued yours of the 26. of the last moneth, and by this tyme I suppose Pr: Ruperte* is with you at Nantes, so that you can iudge what is like to become of your busi-

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* His Highness had nearly lost his life a few days before this date, as recorded in a journal of that period: "Paris.—We have not much of newes here; but the river Seine had like to have made an end of your black Prince Rupert; for some nights since hee woulde needes coole himselfe in the river, where he was in danger of drowning, but by the help of one of his blackmores escaped. His Highnesse (it seems) has learnt some magic amongst the remote islands; since his coming hither he hath cured the Lord Jermin of a feaver, with a charme; but I am confident England is without the jurisdiction of his conjuring faculty."

nesse better then I, but his Highnesse seemes to me to be confident that the Marshall will make no question of deliueringe the 10th and the 15th. but it seemes he claymes accounts for the rights of his Admiralty of Britany,* upon which he thinkes ther is a greate arreare dew to him from all those who haue carryed pryzes into Brest: And to this pointe you shall do well to instructe your selfe as well as may be, and whether his Officers at Brest ever demanded any thinge before he made this seizure at Nantes, for in truth I know not how to answer this; if he hath the rights of Admirall due to him in all the portes of Britany, and none of our shipps haue euer payd him any, by virtue of ther deere-bought protection at Brest, I do not wonder he takes the best way he can to reconver his dewes, when wee fall into his dominions: Ther is not the least thought of Ostende in the pointe: My opinion is, that you should do the best you can to gett the 10th and 15th. and you are to vse his Matys name to no other purpose, and then lett the rest petition the Prince (since his Maty hath referred

* There were also other difficulties respecting those prizes; for the French Court were at this period, or at least Mazarine was, so anxious to conciliate the favour of Cromwell, that they actually suffered an arrest to be made upon the prizes, the affairs connected with which were very badly managed, as Sir Edward Hyde observes in another place, by Sir Edward Herbert, whom he describes as despising all men, and looked upon by Prince Rupert as an oracle. Vide State Papers, vol. III. p. 177.

The paltry conduct of Mazarine, surpassed even by that of Marshal Melleray at Nantes, on this occasion, may be further seen on reference to Clarendon's History, vol. III. pp. 405, 6, where Melleray's is also justly depicted in its proper colours.

the matter to him) to mediate for fauour to the Marshall, for it is playne he will haue somewhat out of it, if not the whole: God blesse me from your ffrench Governours: Concerninge your house I can add nothinge to my last: nor will any care be omitted to keepe up the seruice. God præserue you. I am,

Sr,

your affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^,

E. H.

Paris this 2^d^. of Aug. (1653).

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

Yours of the 31. of the last (which is the last I haue receaued from you) gaue me so much ioy, that as soon as I receaued it, I thought it my duty to imparte the good newes to the Kinge, who upon reading that clause, made not the least scruple that Mr. Morrice * was in safety, of which since wee see no euidence, I pray send me worde, how it was possible for you to be deceaued, and how the reporte came to you: I told you in my last, that it is too manifest, that Innisboffin is deliuered up, so that there is nothinge to be done with those dispatches, but to keepe them. I can add little of newes, only that the Court hath new argument of tryumph, upon a late victory of some considerable party of the Pr: of Condé,† wher they tooke many

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* For an account of Mr. Morrice, see at the end of these Letters.

† The conduct of the Condéan army at this period was of a most discreditable nature, if we are to believe the following

prisoners and some officers of eminent quality: The Dutch yett proceede very slowly, as well in order to ther allyance with this Crowne, as in any declaracon for our Master, notwithstandinge which my hopes are not abated, nor do I thinke a peace almost possible to be made betweene the two Commonwealths, and all this addresse which is so much spoken of, is only a letter from a priuate man, without any knowledge of the Pro: of Hollande, much lesse of the States Generall, who resent the præsumption. Lett me know, whether Mr. Bennett did euer requyre the ffees from you upon any of the Commissyons which I deliuered to you, or how he comes to prætende to them: howeuer you shall by no meanes take the least notice of this question, nor declyne the course you intended, for I am sure I neuer intended to receaue penny fro' them, but would gladly know how he claymes such ffees. I wish you all happynesse, and am,

Sr,

Your very affectionate Servt,

E. H.

Paris this 19. of Aug. 1653.

Sir Ri: Browne.

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statement in a letter from Paris of the 8th of August 1653, in the "Faithful Scout." "The Prince of Condé is become very considerable, and exceeds the K. in number of forces, being 7000 foot and 1000 horse, besides the Spanish auxiliary army under the command of Gen. Fuensaldague, which makes 13,000 horse and foot. His Highness hath sent several challenges to Marshall Turein to fight; but he declines; so that he hath given Condé an opportunity to get within eight leagues of Paris, plundering all, his Germans ravishing the nuns, and ransacking all religious houses, firing suburbs of towns, and enforcing contributions from others. He made way so far as to come and dine at his own house, where he and his commanders were as merry as so many Princes."

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I haue receaued yours of the 15. of Octo: but nether know nor can imagyne* the reason of your longe silence, but conceaue it proceedes from some such cause as made you wish that it might not be interrupted by any provocation from me: and yett it was not possible for me to do you any seruice without beinge instructed by you in the way, the businesse standinge as it did. I heare nothinge of Choquez, and what his undertakinge is I know not. I asked the Kinge whether he knew any thing of the businesse, and I haue reason to believe that he nether hath nor will giue any order in that affaire without askinge me how the case standes; but if you give me no cause to move publiquely in it, it is no wonder if I say nothinge of it, and if you do write upon the argument, you will write so that the letter may be reade at Councell, any other advertisements you will put in a paper aparte. I heare nothinge of the wyne, nor know not any thinge of Nantes, when they come away, who are ther, or what they do ther.

The Kinge hath spent the last fortnight in the country at Chantilly, and returned hither on Wensday last: and proposes to goe backe thither agayne tomorrow, and I suppose will spende his tyme ther, till the fayre weather be done: I can tell you little of newes, the distractions I

* Though Sir Edward Hyde was too sanguine in the hopes expressed in this letter, yet the plain good sense manifested throughout, alike above that listless apathy which deadens enterprize, and that hasty enthusiasm which mars it, affords sufficient reason for the King's partiality and confidence in his counsels.

thinke are so high in Englande, that ther must be some suddayne alteration: and I depende more on that, then any thinge that can happen abroade, wher there is little care of honour, or any thinge but ther owne present conveniences. It may be, all the pause in your businesse is in contemplation of the greate pryze, and I would not interrupt that, by any meddlinge in a matter so particular and inferior as the other; but if that were at an end, or I knew what were like to come of it, I would be very importunate to knowe what the grounde of the proceedinge is. If ther be no reason to the contrary, I shall be gladd to heare from you, and as particularly as you please; but if you thinke it in any consideration inconvenient, I referr it wholly to you, and am very heartily,

Sr,

Your very affectionate huble Servt,

E: H

Paris this 26: of Oct: (1653.)

Sr Ri. Browne.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Honble,

With humble acknowledgments of your last favour of 26. Octobr I can now give your Honr this brief account of my businesse here on which I haue soe longe and with much charge and trouble attended. Captain Anthonio hath without any consent of mine, nor doe I know with what power from the rest of the witnesses, payed the Marl fifteen thousand livres, and by this means obtained *mainlevee* [removal of the arrest] of all the goods arrested, and

consequently gotten them all into his hands.* By H. H. Prince Rupert's order I haue now commenced a sute in law for recoverie of the fifteenths, and the Duke of Yorkes interest (both which the Marl allways intended to restore without diminution) and his highnesse doth soe nobly support and countenance me therin, that I hope eyther by decree of justice, or by the Captains volontary rendition, to have a speedy end, & therby be soon able to remit to Paris that money his Maty hath ordered towards satisfaction of my Landlord.

I haue (together with money for the charges of the carriage) committed to Mr. Killigrews care, a butt of Canary wine divided into three barrells. The one wheroff I humbly present to his Maty, the other to his R. H. and the third to the Lords at Court.†

Soe praysinge God for his Maties happy recovery of health, and dayly prayinge for the same.

Nantes first Nor 1653.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I haue yesterday receaued yours of the 1. and the 4. of this month together, & this day gave the Bill of Exchange to Mr. Deane, who will be very glad that he is provyded to

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* The whole of this affair is deserving of notice, and strongly marks the jockeyship of the avaricious Governor.

† The politic attention of Sir Richard in this instance shews how fit he was for a courtier—even upon a small scale. How far he was prudent in trusting Killigrew with the wine may be doubted!

comply with some parte of your landlordes importunity, and we shall all have the more ease by it. I heare the Canary wyne is come to Paris, but no men'con of the delivery of it, being conceaved to be Mr Killigrews owne wyne,* so that I expecte a very small share of it, but have acquainted his Maty and my LLds with that parte of your letter, and my Ld Chamberlyne will enquyre after it: You cannot imagyne I can misinterprett any acte of yours, which I know can not want kindness to me; your silence was very fitt, and I guessed so much at the reason of it, that I complyed with it, and yet (as you say) all is little enough, and iealous natures will alwayes finde somewhat to worke upon, to disquyett themselves and others, and I know no cure to apply to those, who are not pleased with fayre and open dealinge.†

I hope you haue not suffered your selfe to be too much a loser by Capt: Anthonio, with whom you know how to deale well enough: at least if he intends to haue any more to do with us: I hope ther is care taken to giue Geo: Carterett satisfaction, who over apprehends discourtesy from hence, and that he was putt out of the Kinges protection, when God knowes the Kinge resolved to do all he could for him and the other adventurers, as soon as the case should be so stated that he knew what to presse, but it

* The Chancellor's suspicions of Tom Killigrew are not surprizing!

† It has already been hinted, in an antecedent note, that Sir Richard Browne had many enemies at the exiled Court. Hyde had many also; and no doubt all this caution in the correspondence of the two friends was for the purpose of guarding against the malevolence and insinuations of Court sycophants. Vide Hyde's preceding letter of the 26th October.

seemes all is now composed, and it is a notable ffyne you have payd to the Marshall, if the commodityes were not of a huge value: God preserve me from such governours.— Wee are yett in the country, which the Kinge is better pleased with then with Paris, and truly he hath recovered his health most miraculously: But if the weather changes, as it is like to doe, I suppose we shall looke backe to Paris: and then any good newes will carry us away. I wish you all happynesse, and am very heartily,

S^r^,

Your most affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^,

EDW. HYDE.

Chantilly this 10: of Novemb: (1653.)

Sir RICHARD BROWNE to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^ble^,

I have here received your Hon^rs^ of the 10^th^ Nov^r^ for which I sende humble thankes, as bringinge with it the assurance of my standinge upright in your opinion: your friendship being one of the greatest consolations I have in the midst of all my sufferinges. I humbly submitt the adjoyned for your management: yf you approve not therof, and had rather convert the summ mentioned to your own use, order it how you please and to whom you would have the bill made: perhaps you may think Mr. Edgman a fitt person to be trusted with the secret, that soe little notice may be taken. The three barrells of Sacke are yett here; in company with them goes a fourth vnder Sir Gervais Lucas * his name, which is a present I make to y^r^ Hon^r^

* The whole of this is confirmation of the preceding note. Sir Gervais Lucas had been a cavalry officer in the Royal cause during the Civil Wars.

wherewith to rejoyce yourselfe and friends: Only I intreat you that the good Lady Lucas may have her physicall proportion out of it. . . . . warmed keepes her alive as shee herselfe sayth. That you will not give Dr. Earles half a dozen of bottles I cannot doubt. The person I last mentioned in cipher will tell you notable stories when he comes to you. To him I refer all. You may beleeve him, for hee is much a man of honour. Being ready to goe from hence I expect to find your answer hereto in Mr. Richards his hands at St. Malo's. This is all at present from,

yr honrs most faithfull and most obliged
humble servant,
R. Br.

The following is the Paper adjoined:

I have formerly acquainted you that I cannot make up my accounts untill I returne to Brest, which I am now hastening: In the interim, finding that some monyes of his Maties will remaine with me, I humbly submitt it to your Honrs consideration whether a hundred Lewises in gold will not be acceptable to his Maty to be by your Honr privately delivered into his owne Royall hands, towards his merry playing,* wherwith to passe his time at cards this approaching Christmasse. This I shall be able to performe

* See p. 312. Lord Jermyn's conduct as cashier for the Royal expenses seems not to have been very respectful or honourable towards his Sovereign, if we are to credit Lord Clarendon, who roundly asserts, in his History, that whilst Jermyn kept a coach of his own, and an excellent table for those who courted him, yet the King, even when having the most urgent want of 20 pistoles, could not find credit to borrow them!

from St. Maloes, if I may there meet with encouragement. This is all at present from,

yr Honrs

most faithfull and most

obliged humble servant,

R. Br:

Nantes 18. Novr 1653.

Mr. Chan: of the Exchequr.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I haue receaued yours of the 18. and since you are so well provyded, I cannot but commende your designe, and as I believe the Kinge does not expecte such a present, so I am sure it will be most wellcome to him, and I will promise you to present it to him, in so secrett a manner, as nobody shall know it but himselfe; and be confident I will never converte one penny that belonges to him, to my owne use, in what straights soever I should be.

I like very well your distribution of the sacke, and I will not bragge of my share, nor fayle of delivering the proportion you assigne, and if the good lady comes hither, (as by yours I guesse she intendes to do, though Paris at present is a place of prodigious exspense, every thinge double the pryse of what it was when you left it) the vessell shall stay with her; and I there shall be sure of iustice, and I will fetch my allowance in bottles: Lett me only giue you this warninge, that the carriage be payd for, as I thinke you told me in your former that it was, and I am sure I cannot do it, and then, the sooner it comes the

better.* Wee are full of exspectac'on of good newes from all quarters, and I hope some of it will be of such a nature that will call us from hence, which I will be sure to giue you an accounte of as soone as I can: I wish you all happynesse, and am very heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^,

Edw: Hyde.

Paris this 24 of Novemb: (1653.)

Sr Ri: Browne.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right hon.

Mons^r^ de Varennes, Intendant of Marqu. de Castlenau's affairs at Brest, havinge beene from that towne deputed to the States of Bretany, Mars^l^ de Milleray did there declare unto him that he pretended nott to abate any part of what belonged unto him in the loading of the fleete which hee had seased, and for *mainlevèe* wheroff hee had receaved 15000 livres. Wheruppon this gentleman came hither to demand his right, & after a weekes digladiation at law with Captain Antonio, the Captain yeelded up the cudgells and gave him satisfaction. My desire to see the issue of this suite in law causeing my stay here longer then I intended, hath brought me hither your Honours favour of 15 Nov. which containinge an intimation of something of

* The whole of this letter is an interesting illustration of the distresses of a man who was afterwards Lord Chancellor of England, and father-in-law of a King. It has been the fashion to run down the restored Court of Charles; but surely his exiled Court could boast some instances of honour and honesty that would have been immortalized if in classic times.

complaint against (as they call it) the King of Englands Admiralty at Brest, I considered myselfe whether it will be fitt for mee to goe now into Low Bretany before I haue once again shewed myself to the Marl and received his commands (who they say will bee here shortly) least he againe come uppon us with a second costly after-reckoninge, grounded uppon pretence of not beinge sufficiently applied unto, or of being neglected in his government; at least not untill I have your Honrs sence heruppon, which I humbly beseech you to vouchsafe mee, sending yr letters as you please, eyther directly hither, or by the way of Mr Richards, thorough whose hands I expect answers of my last of 18th currant.

I render humble thankes to your Honr for the sanguine part of your letter, resultinge out of the good newes from Germany and England. God of his mercy improve these comforts to us; and preserue his Maties sacred person, and vouchsaef him a speedy establishment uppon the throne of his Royal progenitors. Soe prayes dayly and heartily,

yr Honrs, &c.

Nantes 29 Nor 1653.

The same to the same, accompanying the preceding letter.

Right Honble

I am told that the Prince [Rupert] hath now totally settled his businesse with the merchant, and stayes only to see performance. Meane time Sr Gervais Lucas hopes to be goinge with his lady some time the next weeke for Paris, and takes along with him that commodity for your Honr wch I thought would have accompanied the other 3 which are now upon their way. Mr. de Varennes carries a letter recommendatory from mee to yr Honr. Yf hee

uppon his maisters the Marqu. de Castlenau's recommendation hath thus enjoyed the benefit of favour and protection in his part, how much more might wee (had not an unhandsome eclipse happened) his Maties subjects and servants uppon our Royal Maisters gracious owning of us? beleeve me the Captain doth now sufficiently repent his unprofitable, unadvised, nay precipitate performance of Monsr Choquere his bargaine.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I haue receaued both yours of the 29. of the last, & cannot imagyne, how any thinge I sayd to you in my former letter could make you deferr your iourney, nor can I add any thinge to what I then sayd, havinge not heard since of the complayntes, and you must indeed know the temper of those places much better than I can doe: I perceave by what you say of Monsr Varrennes that wee are nothing beholdinge to the Marshall, who it may be without our frends helpe would not have beene able to have done us so much prejudice. Lett me know when you goe from thence, and wher my letters may finde you. The Capt. doth well to quitt his old frends, and betake himselfe to new who know better how to use him. Wee heare not yett of Pr: Rupertes comminge hither, but meethinkes he hath bene longe absent. Hath Sr Ge: Lucas absolutely quitt his ffarme in Britany, or doth he only repayre hither for health. Meethinkes the comodity you mencon should not be worth the charge of so longe a voyage by lande. The Duke of Yorke is returned hither, full of reputac'on

& honour,* and the ffrench Courte is expected on Sunday or Munday. I can tell you little newes: our frends in Hollande do not believe the treaty will produce a peace, and for an instance that the States do not so much depende upon it, they have given a licence this last weeke to . . . . Ge: Middleton,† to transporte armes and ammunicon for Scotlande, which is a good signe: I suppose you heare frequently from Englande, where sure the confusion is very high, and it is exspected that they will declare Crumwell Protector of the 3 kingedomes, that his single influence may compose those distractions, which the multitude cannot doe, for Mr. Peters himselfe now professes that Monarchy is the best government. God send us well under it. I am,

Sr,

Your most affectionate servt,

E. H.

Paris this 6. of Decemb: (1653.)

Sir Richard Browne to Sir Edward Hyde.

Right Honble,

This being onely to give course to a bill of exchange for one hundred Lewis's of gold in specie payable at sight unto

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* The Duke had been serving under Turenne, and had just before this period distinguished himself much at the siege of Mousson. Being disappointed in his wishes to be present at the siege of St. Menehoud, he had repaired to his brother's Court, in order to accompany him during part of his route from France to Germany.

† Middleton bore the rank of lieutenant-general, and was very active in Scottish affairs, as Charles's agent with the Highlanders and other Loyalists in that country.

Mr. William Edgman, which I haue desired Mr. Richards to inclose herin at St. Malos.

Nantes 10 Dec. 1653.

The Same to the Same.

Right Hon^ble^, Nantes 20 Dec. 1653.

My last unto your Hon^r^ were of 10. Dec. with an inclosed bill, which Mr. Richards assures me will be punctually payed this very day (20 Dec^r^) at Paris. My desire now is (in case you approve theroff and will at my humble request vouchsafe to accept this poore tender of my seruice) to transmitt to your Hon^r^ a supply of money for your owne occasions in that now extraordinary deare place, which I am the more apt to beleive in regard that the price of all thinges here raysed a third since my cumminge into this province. I doe nott dessigne lesse than a thousand livres, and am very sorry I cannot performe it untill I draw a somme from Brest, in which I find great difficulty at present, noe man being willinge to meddle with money, in regard of the approachinge fall at the end of this month. By this abatment in the species I am like to sustaine not an inconsiderable losse, for I heare they have this good while payed the Kings dues at Brest according to the rate the money went many monthes since, when the commoditis were sold *(viz.)* Lewises of gold at 12 livres and of silver at £3. 9*s*. And I am told the Duke of Yorkes receivers can gett noe better quarter. I know not why I should nott make the just reparation of this losse as an article in my account, as well as the Treasurer of the States of Bretany, who hath on this consideration lately had seven thousand crownes indemnification adjudged him by Act of the States. By way of S^t^ Malos your Hon^rs^ next commands will find

mee, and you may well imagine your presence, tho not possible, will be most heartily wished, and your health noe lesse cordially celebrated.

I am now to acknowledge your Hon^rs favour of the 24. Nov. & 6 Dec^r. The three first vessells of sacke are doubtlesse longe since arrived by water at Orleans, there expectinge Mr. Killigrew's order, who is desirous to present them himselfe. I have allready furnished him with some money towards the charges, and have taken care to defray at Paris the whole port of them and of the 4^th^ which went hence in boate the beginninge of this weeke with noble Sir G. L. [Gerv. Lucas] and his lady, who have quite abandoned this province, the Ladies intention being to goe 'ere longe into the greater Bretany. I desire your Hon^r to give credit to him in many thinges with which hee will acquaint you, for hee is much a man of honour and integrity. Hee will tell you to what degree wee have (as you well call it) had our freinds healp and furtherance in the payment of the 15 thousand livres fine, &c. I did not till uery lately know that my Lord Percy now Lord Chamberlin was come to the Kinge, and I am likewise told that he is much in your intimacy, of which, if true, I am uery glad, for hee hath beene my noble freind of a date little lesse than 30 yeares old. I pray if your Hon^r thinke it fitt be pleased to present my humble seruice and congratulations to his L'pp.

Prince Rupert hath now quite finished his businesse with the marchant that lost the sugar prize, and speakes of goinge hence for Paris within few dayes.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I have yours of the 20. as I had before your former with the bill, which was punctually payd,* and delivered to the Kinge, for which you shall have his acquittance, and I must tell you, it came very seasonably to him, and most acceptably, of which you shall heare more hereafter. ffor your new noble offer, I am not in a condic'on so plentifull to refuse, for I must tell you that I have not had a Lewes of my owne these 3 moneths; therfore when you send the bill, lett me know whether you lend me so much out of your owne little stocke, or whether it be the Kings money, for in that case, his Maty shall be the disposer,—since my office hath never yett nor shall intitle me to take his mony without his derection.† Ther is no question any fall of

* See page 307.

† The delicacy manifested by Sir Edward Hyde in this transaction must surely become matter of record in future history, when the party prejudices of the Civil Wars, for such still exist, shall moulder in the tomb of oblivion, like the ashes of those whose conduct and opinions gave to them a local habitation and a name.

The charges to which he next alludes were those brought against him by the Queen's party, who were unwilling that he should execute the duty which Lord Jermyn had formerly done, the disposal of the King's private funds. Mr. Long, the Ex-Secretary, was therefore brought forward to hash up this charge, on the evidence of one Massonet, or rather his hearsay evidence from a maid-servant in London, who assured him that she had seen Sir Edward go into Cromwell's chamber at White-

moneyes is a just grounde for demaunde of allowaunce upon accounte. If you are at Ducy, wish me with you, as I do heartily. I write to the Governour the way he derected, and must be informed when he returnes to his dominion.

I hope you thinke it strange to heare that I have bene in Englande, and have had private conference with Crumwell, and [that you] are not sorry that my enimyes can frame no wiser calumny against me: Pr: Rupert is not yet arryued, nor is ther any newes of the sacke: I shall be gladd to see Sr Ge: and his lady heare. Though my Ld Chamberlyne* and I lyue ciuilly togither, and I can menc'on you to him, yett it is fitt you write a congratulatory letter

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hall: but the King laughed at it, and was, in fact, himself a competent witness to prove an alibi. Vide Lord Clarendon's History, vol. III. p. 402. When King Charles I. appointed a Council for the Prince of Wales in 1644, Mr. Long was their Secretary. After this he was suspected of holding a correspondence with the Earl of Essex, on which he went into France, and made great complaint to the Queen [Henrietta]. He was Secretary to Charles II. in his exile, was created a Baronet shortly after the Restoration, was Auditor of the Exchequer, and a Privy Councillor. He was suspected of being a Papist, and a legacy in his will strongly confirms the suspicion. Manning and Bray's Surrey, vol. II. p. 606.

* This was Lord Percy, to whom the office had been granted in lieu of that of Master of the Horse, to which he had some claim, but which had been reserved by the King for Prince Rupert, who afterwards threw it up in a manner the most ungracious. The whole affair, as recorded in Lord Clarendon's History, vol. III. p. 411, is illustrative of several of these epistles.

to him, which if you thinke fitt, I will deliver. God send you a merry Christmasse. I am,

Sr,

your most affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^,

Edw: Hyde.

Paris this 27 of Decemb. (1653.)

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

Yours of the 30. of January came not to my hands till within these 2 dayes; and you haue before this tyme I conceaue receaued some of myne since that date, which have informed you how much wee have bene all deceaued in the imaginac'on of the breach of the treaty betweene the Dutch and the Rebells. It is now looked upon as concluded in a peace, and though the other Prouinces are not yett reconciled to the condic'ons, wee have very fainte hopes, that ther opposic'ons will be able longe to deferr what the Province of Hollande so importunately and vehemently pursues: and I do belieue that this Crowne will labour all they can (and I thinke with successe) to gett it selfe into the allyance,* for the facilitatinge wherof I suppose they wish

* So certain were the politicians of that time of a treaty between the French King and the Protector, that in a letter from Paris, 20th January, N. S. in the public papers, it was expressly stated, "Here is much talk, as if the Peace were concluded between France and England." It did not take place so rapidly, however; for, notwithstanding Mazarine's politeness to Cromwell, the sturdy *independent* spirit of the latter refused to amalgamate as the former wished. In writing to Cromwell, about this period, Mazarine concluded with,

our Master gone from hence, and wee shall gratify them in it, the Kinge resoluinge to goe as soone as he can gett away: you shall do well to hasten all accounts with your Capts as soone as may be, least they grow lesse respectfull of the Kings authority, and what they owe to him, when they finde that they are like to finde little protection heare. I am in greate payne, therfore you must excuse me, that I say no more, but that I am,

Sr,

your very affectionate hu^ble^ Servt,

E. H.

Par: this 17. of Feb. 1654.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^ble^,

Captain W^m^ Arundell the bearer hearoff being dispatched* by Coll O'Sulleuan Beirne to giue his Maty a particular account of his proceedinges hitherto, and to receiue our royall and gracious Maister's farther directions and orders for the future, in case he may be soe happy as (in the present conjuncture) to be found any way vsefull & serviceable to his owne Souueraigne, in whose just

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"Votre tres humble serviteur," which obtained nothing more from Oliver than "Your affectionate friend to do you service;" added to which, he expected from the French King the address of "mon Frere!" Vide State Papers, vol. III. p. 227.

* There are no historical records of the specific events in Irish affairs to which this letter alludes; the letter therefore itself becomes matter of history, and forms a link in the chronological chain of that period.

quarrell he much rather chuseth accordinge to duty and alleageance to loose his life as he hath allready donne his estate and fortune, than to drawe his sword in the service of any forraigne Potentate: I am desired to giue your Hon^r this summary account of what hath beene here transacted since his arriuall in these partes some few weekes since, with divers persons of quality, leading men of the severall cheife provinces of Irland,* about 30 barrills of powder and some other armes; for transportation of which whole equipage into the south-west part of Munster, O'Sullevans country, there to make an impression, M^r Holder and myselfe had here prevailed with M^r Griffin, Captain Smyth,† and Captain Dillon, (whose readinesse to serue his Ma^ty on this occasion hath beene very laudable, and ought soe to be represented unto his Ma^ty as nott unworthy of his particular taking notice thereoff) who in their three fregats had undertaken to passe them ouer & by Gods goodnesse to haue giuen a happy beginning to this generous and loyall enterprize: offering further in case they could at ther landinge gett possession of any fortifiable place, fitt and considerable, to furnish them with 2 or 3 peeces of canon out of each vessel: and to afford them what other assistance might lye in their power. But just as they

* The hopes of the Royal party, and the fears of the Cromwellians, at this moment, seem to have been equally great. A "Mercurius Politicus," date 22d February, says, "The Irish are much troubled to hear of the dissolution of the late Parliament, in whom they had great hopes, but, blessed be God! their hopes are prevented."

† How very trifling this naval force was may be estimated from the fact that Captain Smith's vessel only mounted eight guns; whilst another, commanded by Meldrum, carried two!

were ready to sett sayle, comes the certain advice that Mortagh O'Brian (to whom O'Sullevan chiefly intended to joyne himself, and whose party was it seemes the principall foundation of his hopes) had layd downe armes; by which unexpected newes, this soe probable dessigne auertinge for the present, O'Sullevan hath neuer the lesse thought fitt to aduenture a kindsman of his owne name, an experienced soldier, with some few others, and some powder, to goe in Captain Dillon's fregat, *tanquam explorator*, at whose returne hee hopes within 2. or 3. weekes to be able to giue a full account of the state of affaires in that kingdome, and what likelyhood there may bee of attemptinge any thinge there for his Maties service and aduantage, which failinge, this noble person and his company are ready to transport themselves into Schottland, or what other part of his Maties dominions may be thought expedient.

Brest 30 Aprill 1654.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,*

The last weeke I receaued yours of the 23. of the last moneth, & by this post your other of the 1 of this moneth, to both which I shall neede reply no more, then to assure you that what I wrote to you was not out of the least un-

* Between this and the preceding letter there is an hiatus of twelve months; during which period the King and his friends, having left Paris in June 1654, had been resident in Flanders and Germany. The inquisitive reader will find a very remarkable anecdote connected with that event in Clarendon's History, vol. III. p. 413, and another at page 422.

kinde purpose towards you, or doubte of your punctuallity in accounte, or opinion that you had receaued so much as people give out (yett, as you say the Duke of Yorkes officers can make a shrew computac'on, and are not very nice of publishing what they conceave may aduance his Ma^tys service): but I was willinge to be ready to answer any questions the Kinge himselfe might be induced to aske; and the truth is his necessityes are so greate, and so like to encrease, that all wayes must be thougfit on to draw supply to him, and therfore make what you can ready, and I had rather you should prevent him by sendinge Bills before he expectes them, then that I should be required to call upon you: if you procure Bills upon any honest able marchant at Antwerpe, payable to Patrick Garlande,* or his order, and send them to me, I can easily draw it from thence to Cullen, or to any place wher the Kinge will neede it. I can make no other conclusyon by the discourses of peace or warr betweene Crumwell and that Crowne, but that the Cardinall† will do all that is in his power to prevent a warr, which very many believe he will not be able longe to doe, and the Spanyard is very much abused, if he be not sure of a firme coniunction with him. I doubte the tyme of our deliverance is not so neere at hande, as was expected. God will send it at last: you may be very confident that I will never cease to be,

S^r,

Your very affectionate Serv^t,

Br: 22: Apr: (1655). Edw. Hyde.

* Sir Patrick Garland, who was long in confidence with Sir Edward Hyde.

† Mazarine was certainly a personal admirer of Cromwell, and therefore the more likely to be averse to a war between France and England.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I haue receaued yours of the 10. of the last moneth, and shewed it to the Kinge, who hath sent derection to Sr Geo. Ratcliffe* to returne the 2000li. to him as soone as he receaues it, and I assure you it will come very seasonably hither, wher ther is as much pouerty as you haue knowue

* Ratcliffe had once been thought of by Charles the First as Governour to the Duke of York, in his infancy, instead of Lord Byron. He was a Privy Counsellor, and resided at Oxford during the siege, previous to which the Queen had desired him either to bring the Duke to her at Paris, or to carry him to Ireland; but this Radcliffe refused, on the plea that he dared not to convey any of the King's sons out of the kingdom without an express order from his Majesty. The writer of the Life of James the Second, evidently written under that Monarch's inspection, speaking of this affair, says, "which nicety, or I may rather call it indiscretion of his, might have cost his Highness dear, as being the occasion of his being put into the Rebells' hands." When the Duke of York was taken prisoner at Oxford by the Parliamentary army, Fairfax ordered Ratcliffe to continue with him, until the pleasure of the Parliament should be known, and he was only discharged from his attendance by the Earl of Northumberland being appointed Parliamentary Governor to the Duke. In consequence of this early acquaintance, Ratcliffe retained much influence over his Royal Highness, to the great dislike of the Queen, and also in opposition to Lord Byron. He was at Jersey with Charles, and afterwards joined him in Flanders. He was also very active in securing the Duke's interest, when it was reported that the King was dead in Scotland, three years before this period. Vide Clarendon's Life, p. 124.

at Paris. I doubte Mr. Crumwell hath putt a periodd to your receipts, but it is not impossible that Dunkirke* and Ostende muy prooue as hospitable to our shippinge as Brest hath bene, for they say, upon closinge with ffrance, the Rebells will have a briske warr with the Spanyard, and looke euery day to heare that they are possessed of some considerable place in the Indyes, which is at last believed at Bruxells; wher they finde how they haue beene fooled. I am newly returned hither, hauinge beene kept in my way hither at the Hague by a greate sicknesse, for above a moneth, but God be thanked I am now well recovered, beyonde the hope of many of my frends, and contrary to the wishes of those who are not so: I hope I may live to see better dayes: I haue not heard from George Carterett these very many monthes, though I am sure he hath many letters of myne upon his handes, so that you may tell him, I thinke he despayres, and hath given me ouer: God send us a good meetinge, wher you shall receaue all seruice from

Sr,

Your most affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^,

Edw. Hyde.

Coll: this 8 of June (1655).

Sr Ri: Browne.

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* Many prizes had already been carried into Dunkirk by the Jersey privateers; and in 1650 the Duke of York had been supported solely by the tenths which the captors paid him. See further a letter on this subject to the Spanish minister, State Papers, vol. III. p. 276.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

Though it be now many moneths since I heard from you, I had not at this tyme troubled you, if by letters which I receaved the last weeke, I had not cause to believe that one which I writt above a moneth since to you, is miscarryed: I then told you how seasonable your 200 pistolls would come to the Kinge, who hath bene and is still in straight enough, since which tyme it is receaued, but not till within these 3 dayes, it being returned very unskilfully to be payd at Amsterdam upon double usance.

I told you likewise in that, that his Maty would haue you giue a deputac'on to Monsr Marces* to collecte and receaue the dutyes dew to him in 2 or 3 of the lesser and more obscure portes in Britanny, untill he should haue receaued the summ of 200 pistolls which are owinge to him, and he was well content to receave them this way: I thought it more proper that the deputac'on should be given by you, then an immediate grante of it from his Maty to him, therfore I pray (if my former letter miscarryed) lett him know that you haue receaued such derections, and lett him have a proper instrument accordingly. I doubte it will be very longe before he will out of those portes receaue that summ, but the request is the more modest, and could not well be denyed, his Maty lookinge upon the man as one who hath done him many services. You can exspecte little newes from us, who have only courage enough to looke for better tyme; the apprehensions the whole Empyre hath that it

* Vide p. 329.

shall not longe inioy ther peace, and the terrour the Kinge of Sweade* gives them by his inroade into Polande, wher he carryes all before him, proove of no small præiudice to our master, who is therby much disappointed of the mony he was promised from those Princes, so that the truth is wee are no richer then you haue knowen us at Paris: yett trust me wee are farr from despayre, and do promise our selves with reason enough, that wee shall shortly have good frendes, and see a good turne in our fortune, especially if the newes with strange confidence repeated at present heare be true, of Cromwells death: which I doubte is not upon ground enough. The Kinge and his sister are in a private ..... at ffrankeforte,† from whence wee expecte them in 4 or 5 dayes: the Qu: of Sweden is this very minute passinge through the towne, wher shee stayes not, but lodges this night at Bonc, the house of the Elector of Cullen [Cologne].

If you are very rich, and can lend me 20. or 30. pistolls, or such a summ, and returne it to honest Church,

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* Gustavus, the successor of Christina, whose disputes with the King of Poland were a source of great confusion and disturbance to Germany.

† This journey to Frankfort is noticed in the preceding part of the Collection; it also excited some attention both in England and upon the Continent: for, in a paper of the day, a letter from Paris observes, after alluding to the newly-signed treaty with Cromwell, "In the mean time, it seems, the Princess Royall of Orange is expected here in January, she intending to bestow a visit upon the little Queen, her mother, and bring her all news from Frankfort fair; what further end there may be in the voyage is not known."

he will transmitt it to me, and it will come very seasonably to supply,

Sr,

Your very affectionate humble servt,

Edw: Hyde.

Cullen this 28 of Sept. (1655.)

Sr Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I write now to you rather to lett you know that yours of the 16. of the last moneth is come to my hands, then to returne a full answer to it, which I cannot do till the next, and then I shall not fayle to do it, except by our intelligence out of ffrance I conclude that it is for the present to no purpose to do it in the way you propose; as I suppose it will not be, if the peace betweene Crumwell and ffrance be published, which I doubte it is, and then all your armado at Brest will be quickly discharged those harbours, and I heartily wish they may gett off fayrely, without any preiudice or even violence offred to them to obliege Mr. Crumwell. If this falls out to be the case, and that you see ther is no more worke to be done ther, you will not be the lesse intent, sollicitous, and dextrous, to obliege the seamen to continue ther affection to his Matys service, and to continue ther commissyons, since ther is no greate doubte wee shall prepare a better recepcon for them at Dunkirke and Ostende, then they have found at Brest,* and *your*

* The facts here mentioned will be of importance to the naval historian, in illustrating a period of which very little, at least with regard to the loyal part of the service, has yet been recorded.

owne particular will not be neglected: I hope to be speedily able to say more to you upon this subiecte, and to tell you that wee shall not be longe confined to Cullen, and I pray dispatch such advises to me as soone as may be, as may be necessary to be considered in that traffique wee are like to have with seamen, how wee may give them encouragements enough and yett retayne a competency for our Masters supporte.

I haue not time to add more, having very much to doe, upon those greate alterac'ons which fall out, which truly I believe will carry us all wher wee desyre to be:* God send it, and you shall then have cause to believe me to be,

Sr,

Your most affectionate hu^ble^ Servt,

Edw. Hyde.

Cull: this 9 of November (1655).

Sr Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

Since my last to you, which was of the 9. of thie moneth, I have receaued yours of the 23. of the last moneth, and yesterday another of the 8 8^ber^. which it may be ought to be of this moneth: you will not wonder that I make no hast in sendinge these dispatches which concerne your Admiralty, which no doubte is now at an end by virtue of this

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* These anticipations, though finally correct, were too premature by five years!

peace, so that if you parte fayre, and they suffer all the vessells to get out of ther portes, it is as much as I looke for: and if ther had been any more to be done ther, I should not haue moued the Kinge for such a letter to the Duke of York as you advise, till wee had knowne his Highnˢ pleasure, ffor for the Kinge to declare that he would abate as much of his fifteenths as the Duke would abate of his tenths, before wee know that he thinkes fitt to abate any thinge, were to putt him upon some disaduantage, and ther wante not those who would be gladd upon any occasyon to infuse an opinion of the disrespectes of many heare towards his Highnˢ. Therfore you should adiust all those thinges with his ministers, before any thinge be moued to come from hence: But at present all that designe is at an end, and wee must consider what conclusyons wee are to make to aduance our marityme affayres in fflanders, wher I hope wee shall finde all encouragement. Whateuer concessyons are to be granted, they must be to all alike, and not with distinction betweene rich and poore, which will interrupt all payment of dewes. I writt to you to send us any advise that upon your obseruance of those people, you thinke necessary to be obserued.

That which wee are sollicitous for is, to gett into fflanders,* which I hope wee shall do shortly, and not be without such a benefitt from this warr betweene Spayne and Crumwell, that may giue our frends new courage. I shall

* The necessity of this step is evident, when we reflect that the second article of the new treaty between Cromwell and the French Court provided against any aid to the *enemies* of either; and also "that neither of the Confederates shall harbor, or permit their people to harbor, any *pirates* or *robbers*"—terms lavishly applied to Charles's cruizers.

add no more, but that I wish you your heartes desyre, and shall alwayes be ready to serue you, as,

Sr,

Your most affectionate hu^ble^ Servt,

Edw. Hyde.

Cull: this 23. of Nouemb: (1655).

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

The Kinge is so desyrous to pay Mounr de Marces some parte of the debt that is dew to him,† that understandinge that ther is dew to his Maty frome a frende of his the sayd Mor de Marces nine hundred livres, and from another twoo hundred livres, both which summes are payable to you from them for the fifteenths dew to his Maty: since the former order given on his behalfe hath prooued ineffectuall to him, his Matys pleasure is that you authorize him to receaue the sayd two summes of 900. & 200lis and that you appointe the sayd persons to pay the same to him. I shall neede to add no more, but that you may see, the Kinge hoth a very good opinion of Mor de Marces, and a sense of some seruice he hath done him, otherwise you

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* See p. 324. This extraordinary anxiety on the part of Charles to pay his debts is deserving of remark, and excites some curiosity to ascertain its particular cause. If he had displayed the same anxiety on other occasions, his best friends would have had less reason to complain of him, and Lord Rochester's well-known *living* epitaph would have been deprived of its point!

would not haue receaued this commande from him, by the hande of,

Sr,

Your very affectionate huble Servt,

Edw. Hyde.

Coll. this 15. of ffebb. 1656.

Cullen this 29. of ffebr: (1656).

Sr,

I haue yours of the 31. of January which came not to my handes till the last weeke, and I forbore to answer it till now, supposinge you would not be sooner come to Paris. ffor your men of warr, I know not what to say, they are so fantasticall and humorous, that till wee can exercize such a iurisdiction ouer them as to compell them to keepe good order, I care not how little we haue to do with them. In Spayne I heare they haue sent up an agent to Madrid, to offer to engage in that Kings seruice, and Capt. Martin at Dunkirke hath desyred a commissyon from that Admiralty: * But I doubt not, when the Kinge himselfe shall be in fflanders, which I hope will be very speedily, and that by the next post I may send you newes to that purpose: those ffrygates which are manned with his owne subiects, will choose to come into his Matys seruice, & take commissyons from him, and for the rest lett them do as they see cause: you shall do well to encourage Capt: Smith †

* The whole of these facts deserve the notice of the naval historian, being totally unrecorded.

† Captain Smith was taken prisoner about a year afterwards, as related in the weekly journals. "Letters come from Ply-

and Capt: Beart to gett up as many seamen English as they can, and to come to Dunkirke or Ostende, wher they will be wellcome.

For your owne condicon, I am very sorry it is no better, yett in one respecte I did not thinke it so good, for I neuer imagined your receipte would have inabled you vpon the assignements the Kinge had given you to haue discharged all your debts at Paris, and thought it would haue preeued well if you were inabled to pay those which were most crying and importunate, which God knowes the poore Resident at Bruxells is not able to doe, but is euery day in daunger of an affronte. I am sure you doe not belieue I envy you any aduantage you haue reaped: I wish it greater with all my heart, and shall alwayes contribute towards it with all my creditt; but trust me I am often putt to answers & replyes that I know not how to go through with, when they who know the Duke of Yorke's receipts as Admirall, confidently averr that the King's haue not bene so little as 5000 pistolls, and enquyre how much hath bene payd to his vse. Therefore as soone as you can, send me such an accounte (which neede not be uoluminous) as I may vpon occasyon satisfy his Maty in that affayre, that I may the more confidently propose any thinge on your behalfe, which I shall doe very heartily as,

Sr, Your most affectionate servt,

Edw. Hyde.

Sir Ri. Browne.

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mouth which give an account of a good prize newly taken, and brought in thither by the Sapphire frigat. It bears the name of a Brest man-of-warr, new built, of 30 guns. He was met with about the Land's End, and had aboard two captains, the one named Meldrum, a famous pirate; the other named Smith, who sailed by virtue of a commission from Charles Stuart."

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^ble,

I returned hither on Sunday night; and Munday morninge M^r Locker * from M^r Crumwel came into this towne, and had yesterday eueninge publick solemme audience of K. Q. and Card^l. Hee hath bought a coach and talks of hyreinge a house, and though he thus insinuates himselfe as Envoye, yett it is belieued hee will within few weekes produce a latent Commission, and take vppon him the title of Ambass^r: Monsieur le Comte de Briene † sayd thus much to 668 : 192 : 95 ; whom I was faine to visit *en particulier* by reason of some thinges I left in his hands. *Yf this should cause any alteration in his Mat^ies intentions of continuinge a publike Minister here* (as perhaps much may be sayd *pro* and *con*), I beseech your Hon^r to giue me timely notice: that yf I remoue, I may dismiss my house and forbeare to make a new household: and I pray your Hon^r to giue mee instructions how to carray myselfe towards 668 : 192 : 95 : whether I shall uisit him in quality of his Mat^ies Minister or not? The French Court will some time the next weeke remove towards the Frontier.

Paris 19^th May 1656.

I haue as yett beene onely once at our Court, wher by

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* Lockhart soon became a great favourite with Mazarine. He did remain at Paris, and was very active there in 1659. Vide State Papers, vol. III. p. 547.

† The French Secretary of State.

misfortune I could nott kisse ye hands of yonr faire daughter.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchecker.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I am gladd to finde by yours of the 19. that you are returned to Paris, and cannot write at large to you upon what you propose to me in this concerning your selfe, and in some former, till wee are returned to Bruges, which I conceaue may be by the end of the next weeke: nothing being possible to be maturely weighed and considered in the moc'on we are in. I thinke wee shall be at Bruxells tomorrow or Munday, only priuately, to uisitt Don-Juan,* nothinge being to be publiquely declared on our behalfe till the returne of the Ennoy fro' Spayne, but wee haue no cause but to hope very well.

Ther can be no reason for you to discontinue your old frendshipp and neighborwoode with 668 : 192 : 95 : who truly I believe wishes us uery well, and can do no other then he does: when you see him, remember my service to him, and tell him I doubte not but I shall yett lyue to meete him at Whitehall. I shall now heare from you euery weeke, and shall not neede to put you in minde not to

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* Don John of Austria; formerly Viceroy of Catalonia, and recently appointed Governor of Flanders. Lord Clarendon, in his History of the Rebellion, vol. III. p. 478, mentions some anecdotes respecting him and the Earl of Bristol, his belief in astrology, &c.

omitt to write constantly to Mr Secretary:* I shall be gladd to know how your frends do in Englande, who I doubte not continue ther kindnesse to you: If nothinge be done by the ffrench Courte to discountenance you, you will not putt off your house, till the Kinge giues you full order. I pray informe your selfe who of either Nac'on performe most respects to Mr Lockyer. I wish you all happinesse, & am uery heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate hu^ble^ Servt,

Edw. Hyde.

Antwerpe this 26: May (1656).

The letter which included the examinac'ons of the Spy† is not yett arriued heare, so that wee haue a very obscure informac'on of that affayre, nor can I imagyne what seruice the rogue (whome I know well) could do in these partes, to deserve the charge he hath beene to them. I heare the Life of Cardinall Richelieu is newly come out, or in the presse, I wish you could send it to me.‡

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* Sir Edward Nicholas. † P. 337.

‡ The Cardinal seems to have been considered, by some folks at that period, as a conjurer. An English newspaper of that date, called the "French Intelligencer," says "There hath been lately a prophesie found in the Priory of Cardinal Richelieu at Paris, written by his own hand, wherein he foretells the wofull calamities of the family of Stuarts, descending from *the Lyon*, that is, King James, for so he was called, by reason that he brought the rampant Lyon figured upon his breast, in the world with him. He likewise predicts three changes of Government, and domestique divisions," &c.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^ble,

I did nott vntill now know of your Hon^rs beinge in personall attendance on his Ma^ty. Thts ignorance of mine nott onely depriued me the contentment of beinge assured that I had soe worthy a friend soe neere my Royal Maister, butt also made me guilty of an omission of nott sooner giuing notice accordinge to my duty of my returne unto this my former station: for which I humbly crave your Hon^rs pardon.*

The French Court parted hence a weeke since, and remaines yett at Compeigne. Yesterday came newes that the Marl^l: de Turene had defeated 4 Regiments of horse, and taken a small place: yf true, a good beginninge of this Campaigne.

M^r Locker, M^r Crumwells Envoye, followes the Court: before his going hence he declared to a person of quality, that he had by him, and would ere long produce, a Commission to be Ambassador; nottwithstandinge that I haue publiquely (since my returne hither) appeared in the French Court in presence both of this K. & Queene, and twice beene with the Count of Brienne, yett I find nothinge at all of any the least intimation to retire:† And the other day in conference with my Lord Jermyn, his opinion was that this State would permitt me to remaine here as long

* Though without signature or address, it is evident that this letter is from Sir Richard Browne to Sir Edward Hyde.

† This detail sufficiently marks the temporizing policy which actuated the French Court, still unwilling openly to acknowledge Cromwell to the extent of his wishes, yet fearful to offend him by the abrupt dismissal of his Envoy.

as his Ma^ty^ thought good: soe that I expect to heare what his Ma^ties^ pleasure will bee, in this particular: forbeareinge in the meane time to engage for the continuance of my house, or to make a new family: humbly intreating your Hon^r^, that yf his Ma^ty^ thinke fitt to continue mee here, you will please to move for a settlement of my subtistence uppon some good and well assured funds, without which I shall soone lapse into a very sad condition.

In the conuersation I have had abroad in my trauail, as well as here in Paris since my returne had with the French Protestants, I find them generally much inuolved in Crumwells interests, he hauinge dexterously insinuated into their belief that he will maintaine them in the enjoyment of ther preuiledges: a more manifest demonstration of their good inclinations to him may also doubtlesse bee, their hauinge since Lockers arriuall effaced the name of *Kinge* out of the inscription of the Seate for the Inglish Ambassad^rs^ at Charanton, and left only "*pour les Ambassad^rs^ de la Grand Bretaigne.*"

> *Olim tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum*
> *Intactum Epigraphen.*

And in their discourse uppon all occasions, they fervently declare their great good wishes of the prosperity of the army of the Kinge of Sweden as abettinge uppon that hand in order to the ruine of Antichrist, vnder that Kinge and Crumwells banners.*

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* Of all this private history of political chicanery the French Court must have been well aware. It may indeed be considered as a sufficient reason for the middle course which they held between the cause of Charles and the demands of Cromwell. The Protestants certainly had no reason to wish well to the cause of Charles.

I humbly beseech your Hon^r to direct mee how I shall henceforwards addresse my letters unto you

Soe praying for &c.

Paris 2^nd June 1656.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I had not tyme the last weeke to acknowledge yours of the 23. (whiche I hope you excuse) and I have since receaued your other of the 30. in answer to both which I can say no more, then that you shall be sure of all the seruice I can do you upon all opportunityes, and I hope any improvement of our fortune will administer these opportunityes:—you shall doe well seasonably and naturally to pursue that discourse to Ld. Jermin concerninge your stay ther, and draw an advise from him hither for your reuocac'on, and then wee shall know what is next to be done. All the papers concerninge Martin wee have, and would be gladd to know what is become of the fellow, and whether he be yett hanged, and what goodly confessyon he made in that season.*—God send us once a good turne, w^ch it may be may not be farr off: and then wee shall have more frends and I hope lesse neede of them. I perceave your spiritts in Paris are not so composed, but that ill accidents may cause some disorders amongst you, and those people do beliene that your designe before Valenciennes may be frustrated; it is a greate stake, and these as much concerned to preserve and you to possesse it. Wee exspecte

* Vide p. 334.

howrely newes of some action before it: I have beene misinformed if Cardinal Richelieu's life be not in the presse.—I wish you all happinesse, and am very heartily,

Sr,

your most affectionate Servt,

E. H.

Bruges this 7 of July (1656).

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richald Browne.

Sr Bruges this 11. of Aug. (1656.)

It is uery true, I haue besydes your last of the 4: of this moneth, your other of the 21. and 28. of the last upon my hands, the subiecte of both which beinge such, as I could not discourse upon, before my Ld of Bristolls arriuall,* to whom you referred me, I forbore to say any thinge till I could speake to the purpose, and he arrived not till Sunday last: and you will easily believe that in this little tyme wee have not bene able to conferr of halfe the matters of importance which are necessary for present consultac'on: yett wee have spoken of your businesse, wherein I perceive he is farr from hauinge any positive opinion, nor have either

* On a reference to the history and official documents of those times, this letter evidently relates to the hopes and also the plans of the Royal partizans, who were now carrying on a rapid intercourse with their friends in England, and augured much good from the distrust manifested by Cromwell in regard to his own personal security.

Lord Bristol, soon after this, was left as the King's Agent at Brussels, whilst the King and his Court went to Bruges, &c. Vide State Papers, vol. III. p. 308, 10.

of us yett spoken with the Kinge of it: Wee haue many thinges under debate, which must be præliminary to any determinac'on in that pointe, therfore you must haue a little patience, and be confident if you are designed to continue that imployment, prouisyon must be made for your reasonable supporte, and it cannot be most [more] secure then upon that pension, but whether you are to be continued ther I cannot yett tell; shortly wee may. I do not finde that the Queene or my L^d^ Jermin haue writt or sent any opinion upon it: I am of your opinion in the matter of Mon^r^ Lyon, nor can I discover the least footestepps of a treaty betweene the 2 Crownes, nor is Madrid a place of that secrecy, but the Venetian Ambassadour in that Courte would discover it. I pray informe your selfe as particularly as you can of Mo^r^ Orleanes, whose visitt in this season is not merely upon complement. It is not possible to give such an accounte of our affayres heare, as may satisfy the curiosity of our frends, since if what is intended be not kept secrett, wee shall have little fruites of it: trust me, so farr, as to be confident, our condic'on is very hopefull, and I am as confident that I shall lyue to see you at Whitehall, and serve you ther as,

S^r^,

your very affectionate hu^ble^ Servt,

Edw: Hyde.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

Hauinge replyed as particularly as I can in my last to what concernes your owne particular, I should not at this

tyme (when I have very much to do) acknowledge yours of the 11. were it not to desyre your fauour in transmittinge the inclosed. I receaved a letter from Mr. Bourdon, whom I well knew at my beinge at S^t^ Sebastians, and I am gladd that ther is such a distinction made ther, for he writes me worde, that since the Edicte for the turninge out of towne all the English, Irish, and Scotts, ther is a seconde order, that excepts all those that can make it evident that they are good subiectes to his Ma^ty^, and therefore he hath desyred such a certificate, havinge as he sayes hitherto preserved himselfe by producinge some letters which I writt to him at my beinge at Madrid: I have in the inclosed sent him what I conceave may do him good, and have derected it as he aduised, to Bourdeaux.*

We exspecte the Duke of Yorke here very speedily, and then wee shall come the sooner to a resolution in that pointe which concernes you. I pray lett us know more of Don Michel de Castile, and of Mr. Locker: I would be gladd you would send me (if you have it by you) the life of the Connestable De Desguynes, which they say is well written. I wish you all happinesse, and am very heartily,

S^r^,

your most affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^,

Edw. Hyde.

Bruges this 18: of Aug: (1656.)

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* This transaction seems to have had reference to the expected war between Spain and the English Commonwealth.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,* Bruges this 25. of Aug. (1656.)

I have yours of the 18. and as you have greate reason in this perplexed and unsteady condic'on wee are all in, to desyre to know as soone as may be what your owne lott will be, so, you must not wonder that your frends cannot give you so speedy satisfaction in it, as they wish; wee shall shortly I hope see the Duke of Yorke heare, and then that matter will be most properly and seasonably consulted; besydes, the case is now very different from what it was understoode to be, when you returned to Paris, for the Romance of Don Miguell will prove authentique History, and it may be Mr. Lockier may retyre with lesse glory then he entred, and Sr Ri: Browne stay ther with more respecte: ther is one thinge no doubte you may depend upon, which is, if you are continued ther, some fitt assignac'on will be made for your supporte, and if you are called away, no doubte your Master will thinke of some other prouisyon and imployment for you. Our businesse does not goe so ill, but that wee may reasonably hope that wee shall all

* The hopes of the Royal partizans now revived rapidly, as is evident from the whole tenor of this letter. The reader who feels an interest in the hopes thus expressed, will be very much gratified by referring to Clarendon's State Papers, vol. III. pp. 302, 6, for various particulars, especially by the gentle mode (p. 302) adopted by Sir Edward to urge the King to a punctual payment of his debts on the receipt of some cash for himself and the Duke of York. This anxiety on the part of Sir Edward, particularly in regard to the debts at Cologne, may be accounted for by the detail of his own distressed state in that City. Vide same vol. p. 290.

have somewhat to doe. The Declarac'on of the freedome of the Portes is now published accordinge to our heartes desyre, and many other evidences given us, of a full affection from Spayne, and if they do not do all for us that wee desyre, it is only because they are not able: nor are they so weake, and unable to helpe us, nor Mr. Cru'well at so much ease or so confident of his new parliam^{t} that wee have reason to dispayre of better dayes, or that we may not *eate cherryes at Deptforde* agayne.

I returned you by the last post an answer to what was desyred from S^{t} Sebastians, which I præsume you receaved and have sent forwarde. I do belieue ther will be occasyon for me the beginninge of the next weeke to repayre to Bruxells and Antwerpe, and therefore if you please lett your letters be putt under couer to S^{r} H. De Vic, or Mr. John Shaw at Antwerpe: S^{r} H. De Vic complaynes he knew not of your returne to Paris, till some letters from you came into his handes to be sent to a 3^{d}. person. Corresponding with each other may be usefull to you both. I am

S^{r},

your most affectionate Serv^{t},

E. H.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^{r},

I haue yours of the 8. upon my hands, and this last nyght at my comminge I founde your other of the 22. and how longe I shall stay heare I knew not, my businesse dependinge upon the pleasure of others, who will mooue faster or slower as they haue a minde to it, and the ill newes of the losse of Valenza, and the march you haue putt this army to

make, by your attempt upon la Chappelle,* makes the season lesse fitt for those kinde of negotiac'ons, then I beliene otherwise it would haue prooved; howeuer I hope sometyme the next weeke to be agayne at Bruges, and then after the Kinge hath conferred with the Duke of Yorke, I conceaue some resoluc'ons will be taken concerninge your owne particular, and it may be the Cardinall† will finde wee can be as angry as hee, and with more reason: I will enquyre of the letter you say was writt to the Jesuite, and I pray haue as stricte an eye upon the Knight, and informe your selfe of him, as you can: and likewise of the moc'ons of the Cardinall de Retz‡ which is an intriegue I do not understande: you must excuse me for writinge so impertinently at this tyme, when the truth is, I haue so much to doe, that I hardly gett this tyme to write at all: and I pray lett me heare from you of any thinge you thinke fitt to

* Alluding to the events of the Low Country wars, and the campaign in Italy. The Valenza here mentioned is in the Milanese, and was taken, at this period, by the Duke of Modena and the Duke of Mercœur.

† Mazarine.

‡ De Retz had always been extremely active during the contest between the King and Princes. He was the bitter enemy of Mazarine, and also of Condé, playing a double part, and ruling the Duke of Orleans in all things. De Retz also, before this period, had been joined in an accusation brought forward against King Charles, as a mere creature of Cardinal Mazarine. The "Mercurius Politicus" of July 1, 1652, says: "In the mean time the Cardinal, by his creatures, the pretended King of Scotland, the Cardinal Retz, Madame Chevreuse, Monsieur le Chasteauneuf, and Montagu, have plaied their game so well that they have drawn the Duke of Lorrain to declare for the King, and to forsake the cause of the Princes."

imparte, I mean when I am fro' Bruges, for whilst I am ther, your letters to the good Secretary will serue us both: God send us good newes fro' England, which is exspected by

Sr,

Your very affectionate Servt,

Edw. Hyde.

Antwerpe this 29: Sept: (1656.)

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I had not tyme the last post to acknowledge yours of the 29. of the last moneth, and I haue since, by your to reasonable guesse of the slownesse of all dispatches heare, receaued your other by the last post without a date, which was the only one I receaued fro' Paris, all my other frends conceauinge as they had reason that I would be at Bruges, and therby they are all now without any letter fro' me. The truth is, my stay heare hath beene beyonde all possible exspectac'on, and hath so tyred my patience, that though this day be not like to giue so good an ende to my businesse as I desyre, yett I resolue (God willing) to be gone to morrow towards the Kinge, from whom I haue been now aboue a fortnight: Wee are willing to belieue that these seasonable raynes will dispose both armyes to enter into ther winter quarters, and then wee shall do our businesse the better: Ther is a discourse of the Marq: of H. . . . court goinge this winter into Spayne, which meethinkes yett he should not haue leaue to doe: you menc'n your neighbour the Venetian Ambassadour, but you neuer speake of your next neighbour my old friend the Holl: Ambassadour,*

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* Mynheer Borell.

I would gladly know what he thinkes of these alterac'ons, and whether his old affections continue to us: I haue nothinge to add but hearty wishes of your happinesse fro'

Sr,

Your most affectionate Servt,

Edw: Hyde.

Antwerpe this 13. of Octob: (1656.)

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I must give you many thanks for your fauour of the 25. And the greate ciuillity you expresse to me, which I assure you you will finde returned to you, by all the seruices I can doe: it is indeede to melancholique a tyme, to feele any præferment* with that *gusto* that it hath vsed to carry with it, and I wish that considerac'on would abate somewhat of the enuy that will attende it, but wee must submitt to the burthen and uneasinesse of the last, without any refreshment from the former: I hope the tyme is not far of, that

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* The preferment here alluded to was his own appointment as Lord High Chancellor of England, shortly after the Great Seal had been surrendered by the Lord Keeper, Sir Edward Herbert. A curious anecdote respecting this latter circumstance may be found in Clarendon's History, vol. III. p. 411; and another in the subsequent page. It was not very long after this that the Duke of York was privately married to the Chancellor's daughter. A serious quarrel had for some time existed between Charles and the Duke, and a separation between them had actually taken place whilst the former, during great part of 1657, resided at Bruges.

God Almighty will give some change to the sadd condic'on of our poore Master, and then wee his seruants shall haue aboundant matter to reioyce in, be our condic'on what it will: myne, trust me, will be much the more pleasant to me, if it shall giue me any power to lett you see how heartily I am,

Sr,

Your most affectionate Servt,

Edw. Hyde.

Bru: this 5. of ffeb: 1658.

Sir Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

[This Letter only bears the signature and postscript of Lord Clarendon.]

Sr,

I doe very seldome trouble you with my letters, knowing very well that the good Secretary* informes you of all things that passe here: But I write now vpon a particular occasion, in which his Majesties honour is concerned: and iustice and charitie obliges vs to doe all wee can: and though you are not in your publique capacity, and soe cannot move any thing in the Kings name, I doe beseech you for charities sake, to take a little paynes to informe your selfe and thereupon to apply your selfe to my Lord Jermyn, or Mr. Montague† on the poore mans behalfe: and I can-

* Sir Edward Nicholas.

† After a diligent research, it has been found impossible to ascertain the individual to whom this letter alludes. Lord Jermyn and the Abbé Montague were at this time in active confidence with the Queen at Paris, as appears from a letter of the Marquis of Ormond to the Chancellor, written in 1659. State Papers, vol. III. p. 547.

not but presume but they will so farre interpose, and vse their credit, that there may be no further proceeding vpon so foul an arrest, but y^t^ the man may be sett at liberty; and if it be possible, with some repairation. You cannot but remember that scandallous arrest of the Parliament of Rennes, whilst the King was at Paris, of which the Court being informed was so ashamed, that they gaue present order in it, which I thought had beene so effectuall, that there would have beene no record left of it: nor did I since heare any thing of it, till within those last fourteen dayes Mr. Crowther told mee that Mr. Bullen was in prison vpon the same arrest. I presume y^e^ Duke of Yorke hath, vpon the addresses about that time made to him, recommended it to some sollicitation; howeuer the enclosed letter com'ing to my hands within these two dayes, and the King being absent at this time from hence, I cannot but recommend the matter to you, and doe desire you upon perusall of his letter, and the processe, which will informe you of all that I can say, that you will likewise take the paynes, if it be necessary, to call vpon the Superiour of the Benedictines for the other papers, and therevpon to take such course, that such letters of evocation may bee sent, as are necessary; & that the poore man may bee sett at liberty, and out of danger of future vexation: and I hope the conjunction may not be vnfavourable towards the advancement of such acts of justice. I wish you all happiness, and am,

S^r^,

your very affectionate serv^t^,

Brux: 16^th^ August 1659. Edw. Hyde.

If S^r^ George Carterett be in towne, desyre him from me to do all the good offices he can in this affayre.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

SIR RICHARD BROWNE,

WHILST AMBASSADOR AT PARIS.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS, &c.

The following Extracts from Letters written by Sir Richard Browne, whilst Ambassador at Paris, furnish some curious Particulars.

21 Oct. 1642.

Rich^{d} Browne, Esq; Ambass^{r} at Paris writes to S^{r} Edw^{d} Nicholas, Secretary of State—That by his Ma^{tys} late speech at . . . . Shrewsbury & by other advices, he hears the possibility of a thing w^{ch} he hopes will never come to pass, that his Ma^{ty} will be constrained to sell or engage his fairest parks or lands: that there is at Deptford certain pastures called Sayes Court, reserved in his Ma^{tys} hand for the special service of his houshold, for w^{ch} being so near London, there may in these intruding times, be persons ready to deale: he beseeches S^{r} Edw. to move his Ma^{ty} that they may not be sold, but if (w^{ch} God defend) his Ma^{ty} sho^{d} have just cause to part from them, that he wo^{d} let some sufficient persons (whom he shall find out) to deale for them, have the first offer, not above 260 acres; no man shall give a clearer light than he will, for they have been long in the custody of his ancestors, by whom the dwelling house thereon was built at their own charge, & it is the only seat he has, & is the place wherein he was borne.

To Sir Edward Nicholas.

7 Nov. 1642.

That [*in cypher*] doth continue his assistance to the Irish, furnishing money to buy arms, wch they send away for Ireland; that he has made reiterated complaints by his Matys express order, & in his name, with so little success that it is useless to endeavour any more. The Irish priests as well as the soldiers flock very fast into their country & pretend bishopricks and other benefices by donation from Rome. Col. Tirel is here lately come out of Portugal and hastens into Ireland. Col. Belinge (late prisoner in England) hath obtained his liberty, & is now in this town.

To the same.

9-19 Nov. 1642.

The Prince of Condé lately sent for me & told me the Counsells of France had hitherto beene contrary to his Maty—excused and asked pardon for his complyinge: bad mee assure his Maty he would henceforward do all that lay in his power to serve him, that he would in confidence advertise me (and only me) of all that passeth, and (yf neede so require) hee would himselfe endeavour assistance for his Maty.

Use may be made hereoff yf cherisht & kept secrett, especially in regard the French King is not like to live longe, & the Princes of the blood will probably have their share in govornmt then yf not sooner.

To the Same.

13-23 Jan. 1642-3.

The whole numbers of the Scotch who doe allready serve or have contracted to serve this Crowne, are,

Colonel Douglas his foot Regt - - - - - - -	2000
Earl of Erwin his new Regt of Guard consisting of 30 companies - - - - - - - - - - - - -	4500
My Lord Gray one Regt of foote - - - - - -	1000
My Lord Lundy one Regt of foote - - - - - -	1000
Col. Fullerton one Regt of foote - - - - - -	1000
Earl of Laudian (is sayd) shall have auncient company of Gens d'Armes - - - - - - - - -	100
	9600

Of these, allready here

Coll. Douglas Regt - - - - - - - - - - -	1000
The Earl of Erwins - - - - - - - - - - -	2000
Coll. Fullerton's - - - - - - - - - - - -	500
	3500

The rest expected, butt much difficulty to find men in Scotland.

I have seene letters lately written from a person of great quality in Scottland bearinge the Earl of Laudian's speedy comminge over hither with his Matys leave to treate the renewinge of the auncient allyances betweene the Crowns of Scotland and France; uppon which Treaty many particular interests depend, as, the reestablishinge the Marquis Hamilton in the Dutchy of Chatelraut, of the Marq. Douglas in that of Turenne, of restoringe the Captainship

of the Scottish Archers and Guardes-du-corps to one of that nation, &c. ..... relative to which negotiations [*cypher*] and Monsr de la Ferte Imbault pretends to have in favour of him erected a new office of Colonel de la Nation Escossoise, of the same nature and in all points of profitt and honour equall to that of the Suisses.

Mr. Chambers hath very honestly beene with mee and tells mee unlesse the Earle Laudian come (as he pretends) with his Maties leave, and that his Maty doe well approve of the employment whertoo hee is dessigned, he shall not bee very forward so farre to quit his allegeance to his lawfull Soveraigne as to accept theroff.

I beseech yr Honr lett me receive yr orders how I shall carry myself in this business.

Monsr de la Ferte Imbaull is nott only a vehement stickler for the Scotch, butt in a manner also agent for the Parliament here. I have by me the authentique copie of a letter written lately to him by a Peere .....* in the name of the Upper House to sollicit a businesse here. In all his discourse he rayseth their reputation to what heighth hee can, and depresseth his Maties causelessly, dishonestly, and maliciously.

To the Same.

11-21 March 1642-3.

Passports to treat for a general Peace to assemble at Munster.———The Earle of Laudian with Sr T. Dishington solicite very earnestly here for the sendinge an Ambassr into England, to treat of an accommodation, by order as

* In this part of the original, the words, "my lord of Holland" are scratched through with a pen.

is presumed of the Parl[t] in England, and Mr. Fert Imbault is noe lesse earnest to bee the man. These three are all one and violent Parliamentarians.

[An inclosure in cypher.]

To the Same.

2-12 June 1643.

By the letters I recommended to Mr. de Gressy's safe delivery, your Hon[r] will have understood in what a miserable condition I am for want of some present supply of money, my friends haveinge plainly signified unto mee that I must expect no more from them, or from my estate in England already engaged to its utmost extent.

By the same opportunity I likewise give y[r] Hon[r] notice of S[r] Balt. Gerbiers manner of proceedinge here at his first arrival, since which he continues his frequent visits to the Queene, Princes, and Ministers, taking much uppon him, and using his Ma[ties] name how hee pleases uppon all occasions, not onely givinge out here, butt also writing into other parts (as I have received notice by letters from good hands) that he is sent hither by his Ma[ty] to condole about other business of great consequence.—I shall be glad to know what y[r] Hon[r] thinkes of this kinde of carriage of his, and whether it bee his Ma[ties] pleasure to have a pretended Ambassad[r] where he hath allready an avowed Resident.

To the Same.

3 Sept. 1643.

[*Cypher*] concerning which moneyes as I treated with 335 . 420 (who hath very much contributed to the findinge out and sending this summe) hee knowinge my case, of

himselfe offered mee to move 335 . 501 . to reserve here what part I would towards payment of my entertainment until they received his Ma^ties order to put it into my hands, but I replyed that though my necessities did much presse mee, yett I would nott presume to stopp or divert any supply whatsoever sent to his Ma^ty. Here is a very considerable quantity of 259 . 82 . 91 . 83 . sent and sendinge from hence, the particulars wheroff are I assure myselfe well knowne to his Ma^ty and to y^r Hon^r. —— prays for money & to be preserved from perishing.

and ammunition*

To the Same.

10-20 Nov. 1643.

The Queene is in a manner wholly governed by Card^l Mazarine, who is secretly leagued with the Prince of Condé, but governed by Mons^r de Chavigny; this last beinge by this meanes though in a close way more powerfull than ever. The whole triplicitly I feare will league noe very favourable influence on England.——Mr. Croft is gone to Rouen joyntly with my L^d V. Mountague & others to treat with som merchants for furnishinge his Ma^ty with armes & ammunition, &c.

To Sir Edward Nicholas.

3 Sept. 1643.

—— the welcome newes of £20,000. sterling which this good Queene sends to their Ma^ties by her Ambass^r.—They offered to put part into his hands, but he refused it, tho'

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* The words "and ammunition" are struck through with a pen in the original.

his necessities were great, as he wo^d not intercept any supply sent to his Ma^ty.

Much arms & ammunition sent—lord V. Mountague had 50,000 livres Tournois to purchase arms—35,000 only expended—prays the other part may be ordered for him.

To Lord Digby.

6 Jan. 1644.

Delivers the Kings passe for 100 barrells of powder, 12,000 waight of match, 2000 swords & 500 case of pistols to be by a merch^t put aboard his Ma^tys 2 men of war at Havre. The passe was drawn according to my memoire, for the king of Gr. Br. service, but the Secretary of State caused it to be new written, and those words left out; w^ch among many other things I have observed, makes me think those here very far from declaring for either side in England.

To Lord Digby.

25 March 1644.

I have received your L'ps letter of 21. Feb. that some supplies of money will speedily be sent to me, & intimating his Ma^tys gracious pleasure to conferre upon mee (not lesse unexpected than undeserved) the dignity of Baronett; as y^r Lo^p has happily joyned these two together, soe I humbly beseech ..... they may not be separate butt for mutual support and ornament march hand in hand. To attend y^r Lo^ps commands in both I have desired the bearer hereoff Mr. William Prettyman (a younger brother of my wife's) to make a journey to Oxford —— within few dayes I shall have better opportunity to express my thankfulnesse more at large.

I humbly beseech yo^r L^p to represent my most abundant gratitude to his Ma^ty.

To Lord Jermyn.

3-13 June 1644.

Y^r Lo^p hath obtained from his Ma^ty a grant of the perpetuity here in France of 2822 livres tournois p^r an'. If yo^r Lo^p should not already have made sure thereoff, I know not how Mr. Aubert's pretensions may interfere with this of yo^r Lo^ps; for three days since his Agent here signified his Ma^tys order to mee for payment to him of 25^m livres and returning from him the diamond; which sume not being to bee had out of the arreares, it is probable hee will now make a demand of the rents themselves, which if he doe obtain, and that they bee made over to him in that lowe and underhand rate hee expects, he will make up his summe, sweep away not only the rents themselves, but alsoe the remaininge part of the arreares.

Lord Digby and Sir Edward Nicholas.

3-13 June 1644.

The inclosed arret will lett yo^r L^p see that I have at last finished the longe dependinge suite for recovery of a remainder of His Ma^ties portion-money longe since deposited here for the payment of certaine creditors & servants of His Ma^tie. The rents or perpetuity tenn yeares since bought with this money, with the arrears of the sayd rents, I have been forced to wrest out of violent hands uppon the best terms I could; for to say the truth, they were in a manner swallowed up by some greedy cormorants in too great place and power here, who never thought to have

thus regorged them to their true owner his Maty. Of the tenn yeares arreares of 2822 livres p' an. there are little above seaven at present to bee found in ready money (the rest being nott yet payed), which present money will all be disposed off partly by the arret itselfe, and partly for necessary compositions, charges, and gratuities (as shall appeare by my just and good account), so that to his Maties profitt there will come cleare only the perpetuity or rents themselves, and betweene two or three yeares arreares. These rents stand his Maty in twelve yeares purchase, but by reason of the seasures the late French King and this have since these warres made uppon rents of this nature, and of the uncertaine condition of these times, they will not now bee sold at so good a rate as they may improve to after a general peace.

To Lord Digby.

7-17 June 1644.

Writes earnestly for money—inevitable ruin must befall him — has not wherewithall to provide himself out of mourning, a new Coat and Liveries, wch will much tend to his Maties disreputation—"I appeall to all the world whether I have not in this absolutely dearest part of Christendom for these three yeares maintained his Maties honour beyond what could be expected from my quality in these distracted times, my estate lying all in Kent and Essex yielding little or nothing, the moneys I take upp comeing uppon much disadvantage, and a constant great interest paid."

To Lord Jermin.

Right Honble my singular good Lord.

Accordinge to yr Lops command to send you the Inglish newes, I now begin by this opportunity of Mr Besse's departure: What London affords this inclosed printed will acquaint yr Lop. Besides which the letters containe little or nothinge, onely some hopes of misunderstandinge and diuisions amonge the Parlamentary Generalls.

Yesterday the Pr: Elector Pal. his Agent came to acquaint mee that His Elec: High: hee thought was by this time in London: and to declare the cause of his iourney thither to bee, partly to see what aduantages he might reape to himselfe from His Maty and Parl: according to both their promises, in case they treated an accommodac'on; & partly to sollicit some supplies of money for ye Queene his mother and himselfe, without which they can neyther of them subsist any longer. And this hee desired mee to write to their Maties. And I thinke the same excusatory account will bee brought within fewe dayes to yr Court by Pr. Edward, who was also yesterday with mee to consult where he might most speedily and most conueniently find His Maty.

The Duke of Orleans is on his way hither, and yf what I heare be true, will visit his Maty ere long at Bourbon. Of the Duke d'Anguien's action at Fribourg, I will nott giue an account till the lame Post bee come, and then I shall send it by a speedier conueyance. It shall suffice that by this sure hand I present my humble seruice to yr Lop. and giue assurance of my diligent endeauours to obey yr commands. Beseeching yr Lop to take some speedy care for the subsistance of a creature of yours whose sole ambition it is to bee vsefull to you: Many haue allready

passed by and pitied his condition; butt yr Lop is the Samaritan from whom alone his vrgent necessities expect that balme must cure them. In which happy omen I take the boldnesse to kisse yr Lops hands in quality off,

Yr Lops,

Most faithfull humble Sert,

Richard Browne.

Paris 19. Aug. 1644.

Sr,

After seuerall negotiations betweene the Palais Cardinal and the Court of Parlament, the Queene Regent vppon Tewsday last signified to the Parlamt that being well informed of their good intenc'ons and sincerity, she approued of theire proceedings, willinge them to meet frequently and to continew dilligently their consultations for the publique good; wthall acquaintinge them, that the Ennemy was vppon the ffrontier, and that the King wanted mony, wherefore they might doe well to bring theire resolutions to maturity wthin the space of 8 dayes: since wch satisfactory answere the Parlament is uery busy in finding meanes how to reforme the abuses in the gouvernment chiefly in that of the Kings reuenews, in which worke the rest of the Parlaments of ffrance will doubtlesse comply wth this of Paris. And some great Ministers may perhaps be sacrificed to the people, who have already confessed their feares by disfurnishinge theire houses of their choicest moueables.

Heere is all possible care taken to furnish the Prince of Condé wth mony, and heere is also much seeking after horses to sende to him, wherewith to remount his Caualiers; the Prince is wth his army neere Guize, where he hath lately arrested a gent' of Piccardy (whose name is

Ragny) for hauing giuen intelligence to the Spaniard, and hauing drawne great pensions from them any time this 6 or 7 yeares.

The ffrench ffleet consistinge of 13 shipps and 19 gallies hath presented it selfe vppon the coast of Naples, but as yet w^th^out any success at all.

This weeke hath safely brought hither Mr. Langton, with all your noble tokens, for all which (particularly for the rare booke to mee) I render you my hearty acknowledgements, as also your two letters of 15. & 19. June, containinge (as allways of late) feares and hopes. God in his mercy direct thinges to some tolerable end or other. I wrote to Mr. Spencer this day seauenight, as to you also; and hope it went safe, though I find some of the former Post (none of mine, for I wrote nott) were intercepted. Our Prince beinge disappointed of the somme of money hee expected from the French for his iourney, goes the beginninge of the next weeke to Callice, butt with lesse traine than hee intended, which is all I can say to you of that matter, onely that all his Ma^ties^ Priuie Councellors in France haue orders to attend his High^sse^ at Callice: my Lord Treasurer, Lord Bristoll, Sir Ed. Nicholas, are on their way thither.

Our best respects to the good company with you in the Country: where I hope you injoy yourselues, and amongst other diuertisments with that of haymakinge, the season for which now approaches; and ought (yf you haue there had soe wett a growinge time as here) to afford you store of exercise. Farewell, D. S.

Yours for euer.

Paris 4. July 1648.

From Sir Ric: Browne.

Sr,

I know not yet what judgment to make, or what the euent will bee of the affaires now in agitation betweene our Royall and our pleadinge Pallace heere. For notw^th^standinge that tbe exiled members of the Parlament be restored; that the reuocation of the Intendants out of the Prouinces bee resolued (three onely excepted) namely, in the Lyonnois, in Champaigne, and in Piccardy, where theire employment is restraned onely to the affaires of the armies and that y^e^ Queene hath condescended to y^e^ erection of a Chamber of Justice, as they terme it, w^ch^ is to consist of a selected number of Parlament men, whereof the Kinge (to saue the reputac'on of his authority) is to haue the nomination, and is established to inquire, and informe against financiers, partisans, and others that haue misbehaued themselves: yet it will be a difficult matter to reconcile other differences, for there is much dispute about the remittinge y^e^ arrears of the Tailles of y^e^ yeares 44, 45, and 46, and about abatinge of the 8^th^ part of the Tailles of the yeare 47, and the fourth part of 48 and 49; about the regulating the impositions uppon the entry of merchandises, about the reuokinge those Edicts by which the rents vppon the Towne house and the wages of Officers are diuerted to the Kings vse, and generally whatsoeuer almost hath passed w^th^out the verificac'on of the Parlament, is subject to question. Nor is the Counsell altogeather complyant w^th^ the Court of Parlament, hauing lately by their arrest cashiered an arrest of Parlament against the Dutchesse of Aiguillon. Nor is the Parlament vndiuided in ittselfe, the Kinge hauinge a party there amongst whome the S^r^ Boulanger, Conc^r^. in the first

Chamber, two daies since pleadinge very earnestly on the Kings side, in behalf of the Partisans in whose handes he is sayd to haue great sum'es of money, fell downe dead in the House, wherevppon the Duke of Orleans retired, the meeting dissolued, and the people conclude this blow to bee a judgment of God vppon him for defendinge soe bad a cause.

Mars[ll] de Gramont is come hither, whose privat busi-nesse being not yet knowne, what appears is that he hath addressed himselfe to the Parlament to acquainte them w[th] the necessityes of the army, and to demand supplyes of them, seeing all other meanes of raysinge monyes are now, by their stirringe, soe disordered, that the new sur-intendant can neither by intreatyes or threats dispose the partizans to aduance one penny till they see farther what settlement these disputes will produce.

The ffrench ffleet is returned from the coast of Naples (not hauinge made any impression at all vppon that people) to Piombino & Portolongone. Nor doe I heare that Prince Thomas is yet embarqued.

My Lord Jermin went hence towards Callice Munday last. The Queene is returned to St. Germains. My Lord Marq[s] of Ormond prepares for Irland. And my L[d] Marq[s] of Newcastle goes next weeke towards Holand by the way of Flanders, with his Lady, &c. God blesse you and vs. And send vs a happy meetinge.

Yours euer to loue and serue you.

Paris, 18 July 1648.

From Sir Ri. Browne.

Sr,

The businesse of the Parlament this weeke hath been to deliberate vppon, and examine the declaration wch the King brought them, hauinge appointed fower of theire members to make report thereof vppon the 16th of this moneth; in the mean tyme they make great difficnlty to obey that part thereof, wherein the King com'andes them not to assemble any more in the Chambre St. Lewis; and this notwthstanding that the Duke of Orleans hath seuerall tymes beene wth them to maintaine the King's authority, and to vrge the conueniency, yf not the necessity, of theire obedience; so that, by what yet appeares, the Parlamt yf they meete not in the Chambre St. Lewis yet they will doe theire businesse in some other place, and perhaps at last make a foule house; for that is certaine, that some other Parlaments of ffrance doe manifestly declare and followe theire example.

The Prince of Condé findinge great difficultyes in the reliefe of Tourné * is encamped at Bethune, there expectinge the succors yt Erlack, Vaubecour, and others are to bring to him.

At Naples the affaires betweene the King and people (ill satisfied wth the Spaniards non-performance of treaty, and murmoringe by reason of the scarcety of bread) are againe fallen into great disorder; insomuch as it is thought the ffrench ffleet may therevppon make yet an other journey to attempte some new impression in that Kingdome. The newes of the seidge of Cremona is confirmed, not wthout hopes of the speedy takinge thereof.

The Marquis of Ormond is vppon his departure for Ir-

* Which is lost.

land, Wee are here, God be praysed, in good health. Butt when will our deare Brother William come? I am glad to heare our cottage hath beene dignified with such good company as your brother, to whom I longe to present my seruice. Our honest cousin Stefens (who will well deserue your acquaintance, and whom I recommend vnto your affection) will perhaps by that time these come to you, bee arriued. Which yf hee bee, I pray present my seruice to him, and soe with our relatiue cordiall affections, I rest

Yours euer.

Paris, 8 Augst 1648.

Our Court wants money, and liues very quietly at St. Germains: where no peere appeares but my Lord Jermin. The Lord Marq. of Worster, the Lords Digby & Hatton, though yett in France, yett liue for the most part in Paris.

From Sir Ri. Browne.

S^{r},

Since y^{e} Com'ittinge of the King's declaration to fower Members of the Parlament, to bee by them examined wth order to make reporte thereof on Munday next, the Parlament hath followed theire ordinary course of businesse, and this interim seemes to bee a kind of truce betweene the Royall and y^{e} pleading Pallace.

The losse of Tourné hath not yet exasperated y^{e} Prince of Condé into any newe vndertakinge against the Spaniard, w^{ch} now vppon y^{e} joyninge of Erlack's troops vnto him, it is expected hee shoulde, soe that probabily wee shall soone heare of his remoue from Bethune. In this stationary, or rather retrograde, condition of the ffrench affaires in fflanders, the certaine expectation of the taking Cremona, and

the weaknesse of the Spaniard in Catalonia, are very considerable supports; but aboue all, the relaps of Naples into (as they heere thinke) a more desperate state than euer, doth raise theire mindes, and giues here great hopes of the losse of that Kingdome to the Spaniard. In order to wch the ffrench ffleet hath set saile for L'Abruzzo, there to joyne wth the Conte de Conuersano, who hath reuiued yt rebellion and is at the head of a considerable army.

The Com'andeur de Souuray prepares for his journey into Holland, in quallity of Ambassador from the Religion of Malta, there to demande restitution of the Com'andaries, wch the States of Holland doe possesse.

The Duke of Beaufort (who 'tis thought hath not beene out of ffrance) attended wth 40 or 50 horse, hath lately (as is saide) appeared in Brittany, wherevppon there are some troopes sent thither, and into Normandy, to secure those Provinces. And to Cardll Mazarin they speake of giuinge a guard of 100 horse, for the safety of his person.

The Marquiss of Ormond two daies since begane his journey towards Ireland.

Thankes for yours of 28 & 31. most wellcome. All your relations here salute you most cordially. To my brother yf nott com away, & to my cousin St. yf arriued, present my loue and seruice, the like to all the good company with you. Farwell, my deare S.

Yours for euer louinge.

Paris. 15 Aug. 1648.

From Sir Ri: Browne.

Sr,

Yf thorough the difficult and hazardous passage, these lines come safe to you, they will conuey my serious and

hearty congratulations of that condition you are now in neere his Maty, wherein his gracious fauour and your owne merit haue concurrently placed you. Though I haue receiued noe letter from you since your arrivall in Schotland, yett I injoy the fruits of your care and kindnesse towards mee, witnesse the two warrants of his Matie, dated ye 4 Aprill 3o Car. 1651, directed to Prince Rupert and to Mr. Windam in my behalfe, for which, as I render all humble acknowledgements to my most Gracious and Royall Maister, soe, I giue you also my hearty thankes for beinge soe happily instrumentall in a concernment of mine, though hithertoo neyther of them haue prouued any way aduantageous unto mee, for I can giue noe account where Pr. Rupert is since his comminge into the Ocean, and takinge some rich shipps belonginge to the Kinge of Spaine, and to the Genoese: And when I addresse any demands to Mr. Windham, hee makes mee noe returne butt these kind of warrants, such as the inclosed, of which he hath many. Soe that unlesse his Maty be pleased eyther to thinke of some other way of supply for mee, or direct some more effectuall commands to Mr. Windam, your kindsman and his family must (for ought I see) begge bread (or starue) in the streetes of Paris. In March last Mr. Windam assigned mee a thousand guilders of Dunkirke money, which makes little aboue fourescore pistolls here. Butt the man (one John Arden) in whose hands he had deposited the prize goods, out of which this summ was to bee raysed, is soe insoluent that he lyes in prison eyther nott able or not willinge to giue any satisfaction. The truth of this will bee confirmed to you by word of mouth by Mr. Edgman, of whose safe arriuall with you, and returne into these parts, I should be gladd to heare.

The affaires of this kingdome are in a dubious condition, occasioned chiefly by reason of some jealosies betweene the Queene Regent and the Princes; to which the neere approachinge majority (the 6th. 7r.) will, in probability giue a period, one way or other, by a more firme settlement of the authority, ministery, and direction of affaires. As for the aspect towards vs, all I can say to you is, it will bee answerable to the successe of his Maties affaires in schottland, vppon which they here looke as the North Pole-starre by which they intend to steere. Our good Queene spends much of her time of late in a new monastery at the end of Queene Mother's Cours (formerly the faire and pleasant house of Marl Basompeere at Challiot) of which shee is the titular foundresse; and the sweete Duke of Yorke doth here subsist vppon the allowance of one thousand crownes a month payd him from this state, beinge greatly esteemed by all for his comelinesse and personall dexterity, in his behauiour and exercises.

Amongst all the publique and priuat calamities wherwith it hath pleased God to visit my poore family, wee yett (by His gracious blessinge and mercy) injoy our healths, and the hopes of a better condition, when eyther our humiliations, or our enemies sinnes shall moue the Divine power to looke more fauourably vppon vs; in order to the obtaininge wheroff I yett make shifte to keep vp a chappell and the Inglish Liturgie in my house, where, by ordinary and extraordinary deuotions wee implore Gods blessinges vppon his Maties person and just cause. To that diuine Omnipotency recommending you (with all our cordiall and kind salutes) I rest, Dear cousin,

Yr most affectionate kindsman
and faithfull humble seruant,

Paris, 19 Aug. 1651. R. Br.

I pray present my seruice to all such worthy friends of mine of our owne nation, in whom you find any memory of, or kindnes for, mee. Butt, faile nott to render mee most louinge and most respectfull to my noble friend to me still (for I know nott his new titles) Mr. William Murray.

Postscript. Extract of a letter from Nantes. 15th Augt. Prince Rupert is arriued with his prizes in Portugall, 15 leagues from Lisbone, and there hee fitts his shipps with some others that belonge to the Kinge of Portugall, to goe against the Kinge of Spaines gallions. This is written by a good hand from Lisbone.

Wee heere hope the newes of Schottland, and the defeat in Fife, is nott soe bad as the London prints would make vs beleeue. I pray God send us some comfortable tidinges, and bless his Maty. with victory and successe in all his undertakinges.

ADDENDUM.

P. 300. From this mention of Mr. Morrice's escape, it should seem as if there had been a report that a Royalist of that name, who in fact was put to death in 1649, had made his escape, and had remained in Ireland. A Mr. Morrice had got possession of Pomfret Castle, and had held it some time for the King; it was besieged and taken by Lambert; this gentleman had made his escape before the surrender, but was afterwards seized and was executed at Lancaster, as Whitelocke tells us. His story, as given by Lord Clarendon, is curious, and being short, may be worth repeating in this place:

A young man, in the beginning of the war, had been an officer in the King's army, but engaged in the Parliament army with some circumstances not very commendable. By his courage and pleasant humour, he made himself very acceptable, and obtained a commission as Colonel; but being a free speaker, and living licentiously, he was left out in new modelling the army, but not without compliments. He had a competent estate in Yorkshire, to which he went, and resided there. As he grew older, he repented of having left the King's service, and meant to take an opportunity of returning to it. His humour was so chearful and pleasant, and he mixed so much with men of all parties, that he had great weight with all of them. The Governor of Pomfret Castle was his most intimate and particular friend, and was so fond of him that he was never

easy without him; he was continually at the Castle, and the same bed served him. He now concerted with the King's party to surprize the Castle, and he so artfully managed with the Governor, telling him that there was such a design, that he mixed with those concerned, in order to communicate every thing to the Governor, that he completely lulled that gentleman to sleep, and made him inattentive to notices which he received from other quarters. He also ingratiated himself with many of the soldiers, and at length effected his purpose. Cromwell was then gone for Scotland, so that they had time to repair the fortifications, and collect a good garrison. Cromwell ordered Rainsborough to go with a few troops to keep them in check; and whilst he lay at Doncaster, 10 miles from Pomfret, they sent 20 picked men, who by the most dextrous management actually surprized Rainsborough in his bed, and mounted him on a horse; but when he found how few there were who had surprized him, he called to his soldiers, and then the captors finding they could not carry him off, actually killed him, and then all made their way back to the Castle.

At length Lambert was sent to besiege the Castle; the garrison made a most gallant defence, but finding no hopes of relief, they at length offered to surrender, if they might have honourable conditions. Lambert said, they were gallant men, and he would do all he could to preserve them; but Col. Morrice and five more of those who had destroyed Rainsborough, must be given up, and he could not save their lives. The garrison said they never would deliver up any of their companions, and desired six days, that these six might deliver themselves as well as they could, the rest being at liberty to assist them. Lambert generously consented. The garrison made several sallies to effect the desired escape, in one of which Morrice and another escaped; in another sally two more got away; and when the six days were expired, and the other two remained in the castle, their friends concealed them so effectually, with a stock of provisions for a month, that rendering the castle, and

assuring Lambert that the six were all gone, and he was unable to find them after the most diligent search, and had dismantled the castle, they at length got off also.

April 1649. Col. Morris, late Governor of Pomfret Castle, and one Cornet Blackburn, who had a hand in the death of Col. Rainsborough, and who were excepted persons on the surrender of the Castle, were taken at Lancaster in disguise.*

Aug. 1649. They were arraigned at York before Baron Thorp and Judge Puleston, for levying war against the kingdom. They made a stout defence on points of law, all of which were over-ruled, were found guilty, and Morrice being manacled with irons, complained of a soldier being so treated, but got no relief.†

Before the end of the month Morrice was executed.‡ It is not said whether Blackburn suffered.

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* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 382. † Id. p. 405.

‡ Id. p. 407.

INDEX

TO THE

FIFTH VOLUME.

Where the letter n *is attached to a figure, the passage will be found in a note on the page referred to; the letter* m *signifies the margin.*

Acton, Sir William, Lord Mayor of London, 1641, displaced by the Parliament, v. 11 n.

Adolphus, Prince, (brother to King of Sweden, 1654,) proposes for Princess Sophia of Bohemia, v. 203.

Aiguillon, Duchess of, v. 363.

Almont, Sir James Livingstone, afterwards Earl of Callendar and Lord, v. 43 and n.

Ambassadors of France and Spain apply for Irish soldiers, 1641, v. 8 n. 25. tumults against the French, n. *ibid.* foreign, ordered to give up priests who were the King's subjects, 80 n. Venetian, and the agent of the Duke of Florence, offended by the Parliament, 103. instructions to Sir Richard Browne, ambassador to France, 224—226. sent to France and Holland, by the Parliament, 227. seat of the English disfigured at Charenton, 336.

Anne of Austria, Queen Regent, v. 369. message to Parliament of Paris, 361. agrees to erection of a Chamber of Justice, 1648, 363.

Anthonio, Capt. v. 213, 282, 284, 297, 303. Sir Richard Browne's opinion of, 305, 309.

Arden, John, conduct to Sir Rich. Browne, v. 368.

Argyle, Archibald Campbell, Marquis of, 1641, v. 42, 43, 83. flies from Court and Scotch Parliament, 1641, 57. executed 42 n.

Arlington, Sir Henry Bennett, Earl of, letters to referred to, v. 185, 189 n, 198 n, 216 n. mentioned, 241 n, 242.

Armourer, Mr. afterwards Sir Nicholas, v. 208.

Army, proceedings for disbanding the, 1641, v. 6 and n, 24, 25, 60, 61 and n. money wanted for do. 7. provisions for the payment of, *ibid*, 22, 78. disbanded soldiers of, permitted to serve the States only, 25. tumults of the troopers, &c. 46, 49. Privy Council issues orders concerning, 52. guard of kept at the Parliament Houses, 66. Soldiers sent to Ireland, 82, 84, 93, 96. design of gaining the army for the King, 75, 76. increased and marched into Oxfordshire, 115, 116 n. advancing to England, 117. State of the Royal forces, 129, 166, 167.

Arras, Spaniards defeated before (1654) 195 and n, 196.

Arundel, Henry Frederick Howard, Earl of, 1649, v. 177 m.

Arundel, Capt. William, v. 318.
Ashburnham, Col. referred to, v. 137 n. Parliament sequesters the pay of, &c. v. 11, 14 n, 37 n.
————, Mr. John, v. 114 n, 160 and n, 161, 163.
Astley, Sir Jacob, Parliament sends to Ireland, 22. examined on O'Neal's affair, 104.
Aubert, Mr. employed by King Charles I. in confidential service, v. 358.
Augier, Mr., Parliament sends him as agent to France, 1642, v. 227.
Austria, Don John of, v. 333 and n.
Aylesbury, Sir Thomas, v. 240 and n.

Ballad on the Queen Mother burned, 1641, v. 12.
Ballatine, Sir William, v. 56, 63. raised to the peerage, 56 n.
Bamfield, —— v. 199.
Bankes, Sir John, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 1641, v. 7, 8 n, 9, 15, 16 n, 22.
———, Lord, proposed as Speaker of House of Peers *pro tempore*, 1641, 66.
Barclay, Mr. John, v. 53, 56, 77, 100, 128 n.
Bassompiére, Mons. his residence at Challiot used as a monastery, v. 369.
Bath, Henry Bourchier, Earl of, summoned by the Queen, 1641, v. 47.
——, city of, given up by Prince Rupert, 1645, v. 136, 139.
Bavaria, Duke of, v. 249, 251, 253.
Beale, a tailor, discovers a plot against the Parliament, 1641, v. 102.
Beaufort, Edward Somerset, Duke of, proceedings of in Britanny, 1648, v. 367.
Beaumont, Herbert Van, v. 220.
Bedford, William Russell, Earl of, protests against an order in the Commons, 1641, v. 26 n.
Befort, Monsieur, v. 190 n, 191.
Belinge, Col. v. 352.
Bellasis, Governor, v. 150 n.
Bennett, Mr. allusions to, v. 289 and n. 292, 301.
Benson, Henry, M.P. for Knaresborough (1641) catholic protections sold by, v. 80.
Berkeley, Sir John, v. 241 n, 242. danger from the Parliament, 37, 38 n. arrested, 39 n. sent to the Tower, 60. political intrigue of, 137 and n.
————, Sir Robert, Justice of the King's Bench, examined by House of Peers, 66. sentence passed on him, 67 n.
————, Mr. Arthur, v. 81, 85.
Berkshire, Thomas Howard, Earl of, v. 124.
Berwick, Garrison of, Parliament considers about paying off, v. 23. jealousy respecting, 60 and n.
Bewdley, K. Charles I. visits, v. 121 n.
Bishopricks, proceedings for filling up those vacant (1641), v. 31, 32, 41, 42, 45, 46 n and n, 65, 87, 90, 105. Parliament dislikes the measure, 67 and n, 70, 71, 76.
Bishops, impeached, proceedings against, 1641, v. 3 n. summoned by the Queen 47. pamphlet against, 67 n. King Charles's directions about a pardon for them, 67 n, 92, 98. proceedings in Parliament concerning, 64 n, 67, 68, 70, 76, 88, 98 and n, 104. Parliament endeavours to take away their votes, 1641, 61, 64, 71. popular outcry against, 70 n.
Blackburn, Cornet, Parliamentary generals bring him to trial, 1649, v. 373.
Blake, Admiral Robert, v. 209, 234.

Bohemia, Elizabeth, Princess Palatine, and Queen of, v. 55 n, 73 n, 182 n. letters (Aug. 1654,—Jan. 1654-5.) 193—219. character of her writing, 193 n. her cypher, 198, 219. spleen against Q. Christina, 194 and notes, 197, 204, 213. fond of shooting, 196, 200, 203. Prince Adolphus of Sweden proposes for her daughter Sophia, 203. travels to see Q. Christina, 206, 207. gaiety at the Hague, 215. at a royalty at Tilling, 217. solicits a commission for Killegrew, 217, 218, 219. Sir Richard Browne sent to, 1640, 221.

———, Sophia, Princess of daughter of preceding, Prince Adolphus of Sweden proposes for her in marriage, v. 203.

Borell, Mynheer, Dutch Ambassador in France, friend to Charles II. in exile, v. 246 and n, 248, 254, 261, 262, 263, 344.

Boswell, Sir William, v. 55, 200. resident at the Hague, 55 n, 223.

Boulanger, Sieur, counsellor, his sudden death, v. 364, 365.

Bourdeaux, 1653, v. 287, 296.

Bourdon, Mr. v. 340.

Bramhall, ——, v. 275 n.

Brandenburg, George William, Elector of (1654), v. 212.

——————— Elizabeth Charlotte, Electress of (1654), v. 218.

Bray, Wm, F.S.A. *History of Surrey* referred to, v. 4 n, 16 n, 316 n.

Brederoke, ——, v. 200.

Brentford, Patrick Ruthen, Earl of Forth, v. 202.

Brest, proceedings concerning the harbour of, v. 299, 309, 310, 313, 323, 326.

Bretagne, claims of the Admiralty of, on King Charles' prizes at Brest, v. 297, 327.

Bridgeman, Sir Orlando, notice of, 1641, v. 48 and n, 114 n.

Bridgewater, Parliament captures (1645), v. 136 n.

Brienne, Mons. le Compte de, v. 247 and n, 332, 335.

Bristol, John, Lord Digby, Earl of, summoned by the Queen, 1641, v. 48. votes against "Instructions" to Commissioners at Edinburgh, 95, 96. various references to, 61 and n, 99, 257 and n, 333, 338 and n, 362.

——— Prince Rupert surrenders, v. 146, 147, 149 and n, 165.

Bromley, Sir George, *Royal Letters*, 1787, referred to, v. 55 n, 56 n, 88 n, 107 n, 182 n, 194 n, 195 n, 200 n, 213 n, 222 n.

Bromwich, Dr. v. 32.

Brouages, M. v. 289.

Browne, Serjeant, ——, a commissioner at Newport, 1648, v. 173 n.

Browne, Sir Richard, uncle to the Countess of Caernarvon, v. 88 n. letter of thanks to, from Elector Palatine 1643, 112. King Charles I.'s instructions and letters to, on his being sent to Elector Palatine 1641, 221; on his going Ambassador to France, 224—226; directing him to revive claim to remainder of Queen Henrietta's dowry, 226; about the Parliament's agent in France, 1642, 227; on Queen Henrietta's capuchins, 228. transports arms, &c. to King Charles I. in England, 1643, 357. baronetcy conferred on, 1644, *ibid.* correspondence with Sir Edward Hyde on affairs of Charles II. and of Europe (1646—1659) 231, 235—347. great distress, 251, 265, 331, 355, 356, 357, 359, 360, 361, 368, 369. indebted for rent at Paris, 276, 281, 284. rent discharged by Sir R. Foster, 287, 290, 295, 297. his enemies, 255 n, 305 n. difficulties of the correspondence, 252, 253, 260. warned of Mr. Holder, 273. sends a present to Charles II. at Paris, 304. sends money to Charles II. 307, 308, 312, 313, 315, 324. sends a present of money to Sir Edward Hyde, 313, 315. desires instructions about Cromwell's minister at Paris (1656) 332. about his continuing at Paris,

339, 341. Sir Richard Browne anxious lest Charles I. should dispose of Says Court, his seat, among other crown lands, 351. keeps up service of the English Church, 297 n, 369. extracts from letters to Sir Edward Nicholas, Lord Digby, Lord Jermyn, &c. 347—370. various references to, 175, 176, 195 and n, 241 n, 246 n, 294.
Brownists, accuse King Charles I. of Popery, 1641, v. 31. founder of the sect, *ibid.* n. object to Common Prayer, 32.
Brownrigg, Dr. Ralph, Bishop of Exeter, v. 32 n. and n, 45 n.
Brunker, Mr. v. 68.
Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of, impeached by Lord Bristol, v. 61 n. referred to, 113 n, 206 n.
——————— 1653, v. 275 n
Bulkeley, Mr. a commissioner at Newport, 1648, v. 173 n.
Bullen, Mr. v. 288, 347.
Burleigh, William Cecil, Lord, v. 93.
Burton, Robert, *History of the Civil Wars* cited, 150 n, 229 n.
Byron, Sir John, v. 104 n.
——— Lord, 322 n.

Caernarvon, Robert Dormer, Earl of, Queen Henrietta directs him to attend in Parliament, v. 88, 99. killed at the battle of Newbury, 88 n.
Canterbury, Archbishop of, House of Peers makes order about his jurisdiction, v. 65.
Capel, Arthur, Lord, referred to, v. 75 n, 114 n.
Capuchins, Queen Henrietta's cloister of, complained of, v. 5 n. recommended to be dissolved, 1641, 33. proceedings in Parliament about, 80, and n. 228.
Cardenas, Don Alonzo, Spanish Ambassador, 1641, v. 8 and n, 9, 161 n.
Carle, Dr. Walter, Bishop of Winchester, his vote taken away, 1641, v. 67 n.
Carlisle, Garrison of, Parliament pays off, 1641, 23. surrender of, 1645, 147 n.
——— Lucy Percy, Countess Dowager of, v. 35. character of, 36 n.
——— James Hay, first Earl of, v. 36 n.
Carr, William, Lord, of Cessford, v. 21, 29 and n.
Carte, Thomas, *Life of James Duke of Ormond*, referred to, v. 192 n, 208 n.
Carteret, Sir George, v. 233, 241 n, 242 n, 243, 245 and n, 253 and n, 266, 268, 271, 273, 277, 282, 284, 285, 287, 305, 323, 347. services to Charles II. 1651, 245 n.; 1652, 253 n.; 1653, 280 n. Sir Richard Browne's and Sir Edward Hyde's friendship for, 286.
Casimir, John II. King of Poland, 1654, v. 211, 214.
Castile, Don Michael de, v. 340, 341.
Castlenau, Marquis of, v. 241 n, 242 n, 266, 274, 275, 286, 309, 311. admits Charles II.'s cruizers into France, 1653, 274.
Cave, Sir Richard, v. 222 n.
Chamberlain, Captain, v. 286 n.
Chambers, Mr. v. 354.
Chapman, Captain, v. 242 n.
Charenton, zealots of, disfigure chair for English Ambassador at, 1656, v. 336.
Charles I. King of England, various references to, v. 220 n, 221 n, 234. his instructions to Mr. (afterwards Sir Richard) Browne, on his going to Elector Palatine, 1640, 221—223; and on his going Ambassador to France, 1641, 224. letters to and from Secretary Nicholas, 1641—

Charles I.—*(continued.)*
48, v. 1—173. proceedings previous to departure for Scotland, 1641, 3 n. joyfully received at Edinburgh, 4. marginal answers of, to various letters, 5 and n, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13—19, 21, 22, 25—31, 33—42, 44—46, 48, 49, 51—62, 64—67, 70, 72, 76, 77, 81—84, 86, 88—98, 115—117, 316 n. orders the Army to be disbanded, 6 m. engages to transport four Irish regiments for Spanish service, 8, 9. directs a general pardon to be published, 13, 14, 15. remark on Parliament's objections to his free pardon, 15 m. directs an inquiry into an attack on the deer in Windsor Forest, 16 m, 21. proceedings about forfeiture of Londonderry, 18 m. sanguine about his Scottish affairs, 20 m, 27 m. confidence in Sir H. Vane, 19, 20, n. makes the usual allowance to merchants by Act of Tonnage and Poundage omitted by Parliament, 21. directs the disposal of his collar of rubies, 28, 34 m, 55 m, 72. suspected of Popery, 31. Sir Edward Nicholas advises him about the vacant Bishopricks, 31, 32, 66; and on Common Prayer, 32. his directions about the Bishopricks, 31. recommended to dissolve cloister of Capuchins, 33. refers the matter to the Queen, *ibid.* m. his remark on Parliament inquiring into his Revenue, 35. commands certain Lords to attend in Parliament, *ibid.* m. his plans for countermining plots of the Factions, 37, 42, 48, 53, 54 and m, 90 m, 93 m. treacherous counsellors about his person, 38, 59, 72, 88. urged to hasten to England, 25, 38, 44, 50, 51, 62, 71, 82 and n, 85, 87, 88, 90, 91, 96. Lord Mayor, &c. desire to attend him through London, and purpose giving him an entertainment, 40, 50, 51, 68, 81, 82 m, 86, 99, 100. fills up the vacant Bishopricks, 45, 46 m, and n. honourable sentiment of on the trial of Marquis of Montrose, &c. 44 m. advised to prorogue Irish Parliament, 51, 52. firm in the doctrines of the Church, 53, 63, 66, 143. his counsels betrayed, 59. directs Lord Bristol to renew a dispute between the two Houses of Parliament, 61 m. anecdote of, respecting Ireland, 65 n. directions on House of Peers choosing their own speaker, 66 m. supports the Bishops votes, 67, 68. division in his council-board, 71. letter to Queen Henrietta, with injunction to secrecy, 72. intreated by Sir Edward Nicholas to prevent his letters being disclosed, *ibid.* 88. charged with instigating Irish rebels, 79 n, 93, 103, 106, 144, 145. directs the attendance of all Members of Parliament, 68, 81, 90, 94, 96, 100. promises protection to Sir Edward Nicholas, 84. endeavours to stop the progress of Parliament's instructions to commissioners at Edinburgh, 89. thanks the Earl of Bristol and Lord Digby for opposing, 95 m, 96 m. anxious to stop the progress of Commons' remonstrance, 90. pardons the 13 Bishops, 92, 98. declares against orders of Parliament made without him, 99. gentry of Hertfordshire desire to welcome him, 103, 109. his return, 111 n. speeches by Mayors of different towns on his return from Scotland, 111 n, 112 n. at Oxford, 1644, 114. his military affairs decline, 115 n. his memorial for the Treaty of Uxbridge, 120. instructs Mr. Browne to revive claim to remainder of Queen Henrietta's dowry, 1642, 226. issue of the suit for, 1644, 358. directions to Mr. Browne, on the Parliament's agent obtaining an audience in France, 227; and letter to, on Parliament's treatment of Queen Henrietta's Capuchins, 229. French Queen sends money to, 1643, 356. arms, &c. sent to, 1643, from France, 357. orders a fast, for a blessing on the treaty of Uxbridge, 1644, 116. directs Sir Edward Nicholas to talk with the Parliament's Commissioners on their rebellion, &c. 117. determines not to treat without Marquis Montrose, 114, 115, 119. directions, &c. about

Charles I.—*(continued.)*
treaty of Uxbridge, 117, 118, 119. his Memorial on Religion and the Militia, 120. his retreat from Oxfordshire to Bewdley, 121 n, 122 n. defeats Waller at Cropredy Bridge, 122 n. state of his affairs before battle of Marston Moor, *ibid.* 123 n. directs Prince Rupert to relieve York, &c. 123. council of war held at Oxford daily, 122 n. ditto on Parliament's propositions (Dec. 1644), 124—126. state of his army (June 1645), and anxiety to relieve Oxford, 129, 130, 131. plans before battle of Naseby, 134 and n. proceedings after that battle, 135 n. determines to adhere to the propositions at Uxbridge (Aug. 1645), 139. his intercepted private correspondence published, *ibid.* 140, 141, 143, 145. his contempt for the Parliament, 140. route from Bridgenorth to Newark, 141. constant to the Church, his friends, &c. 143. state of his affairs, 143. complains that the Parliament did not publish his correspondence fairly, 145. his plans, &c. 146. displeasure at surrender of Bristol (Sept. 1645), 146, 149, and orders against Prince Rupert, &c. 147—149. orders Oxford to be cleared of disaffected, 152. his intention of joining Montrose, 153. observation on the conduct of Attorney General, Sir E. Herbert, 154. his design to break through the rebel army to Oxford, 155. writes to Sir Henry Vane the younger, for his interest that he might come to London, &c. (Mar. 1646), 158, 159. taken prisoner by Colonel Hammond, 160 n. promises exacted by, on his going to the Scots, 160, 171. directions for the surrender of Oxford, 162—164. anxiety about his cabinet, &c. 165 and n. remarks in a Glasgow publication, on his refusing Scotish propositions, 1646, 166 n. reasons for his sending his propositions to London, 1646, 166—169, 167 n. letter to Speaker of the House of Peers (March 1647), for his Chaplains to attend him, 169. thanks Sir Edward Nicholas for his services, and recommends him to his Son, 172. speech to Commissioners at Newport, Dec. 1648, 173. libel against by Marsys, 175—177. author of *Eikon Basilike*, 169 n, 175 n.

Charles II. crowned by the Marquis of Argyle, 1651, v. 42 n. order of the Parliament concerning his education, 1641, 74 n. his servants examined by the Parliament, 80. general references to, 136 n, 140, 147, 149, 172, 175 n, 189 n, 191 n, 193, 196, 198, 202, 203 *bis*, 204, 206, 207 and n, 208 and n, 209, 213, 217, 218, 219, 233, 235, 237, 239, 246 n, 248 and n, 250, 251 n, 254—256 and notes, 261. his tutors and residence, 137 n. letters on his affairs, 1641—1659, 237—347. goes from Jersey to Paris, 1646, 237. at St. Germain's, 1648, 366. letters of Sir Edward Nicholas on his affairs, 1649, 177—180. documents respecting his counsellors, and promise to Sir Edward Nicholas, 180. letters, to the same, 1650, on his affairs in Scotland (aversion to the Presbyterians), 181; to Mrs. Twisden, about the George and seals of King Charles I. 183; to Mr. Hinton, respecting bills of exchange for his use, 184; to Sir John Grenville, to procure arms, &c. *ibid.* 185. accused of Popery, 242. expedition to Scotland alluded to, 181 n, 234, 369, 370. letter to Sir Edward Nicholas, 1652, on his affairs, 188. notices of his Court at Cologne, 216 n. anecdote of the King and Killegrew, 218 n. letter from the States of Holland, &c. concerning, his residence at Tilling, 219. design of putting places in Scotland and Ireland into hands of Holland, 257. thanks Borell, Dutch Ambassador in France, for kindness, 248, 261. his answer to complaint of Venetian Ambassador against his Envoy, 258, 259. state of his affairs, 262. hopes from the German Princes, 1652, 268 n. French King and Queen pay a visit to, 273 n. indignity offered to his cruizers at Brest, 274.

Charles II.—*(continued.)*
English Journals caricature his Court, 275 n. 1653, reported present of the King of Denmark to, 275 n. fleet under Prince Rupert, 279 n, 280 n, 281 n, 284 n. proceedings ridiculed in English Prints, 285 n, 288 n, 290 n. rich prizes taken by his cruizers, 293 n. injury to his affairs from defeat of Dutch fleet, 293 n. directions about defraying Sir Richard Browne's house-rent at Paris, 298. his distresses in exile, 1652, 251, 253, 262 n, 264 and n, 267, 268 n, 269 n.; 1653, 273, 277 n, 307 n.; 1655, 321. letter to Sir E. Nicholas, Sept. 1653, 190—193. at Chantilly, 202, 306. Sir Richard Browne sends money to, 307, 308, 312, 313, 315, 324. 1654, designs leaving France, 318. letter to the Duke of Gloucester, on attempt to pervert his religion, Nov. 1654, 191. at Cologne, 216 n. shipping shut out from Brest, 323, 326. 1655, at Frankfort, 325 and n. anxious to get into Flanders, 328 and n. 1655-6, discharges a debt due to Mons. Marces, 324, 329. difficulty in keeping his adherents together, &c. 330. 1656, state of his affairs, 341, 342, 343, 344.—*See* Prizes.
Charles Gustavus X. King of Sweden, 1654, v. 211, 215, 325, 336.
Charlton, Robert, of Whitton, v. 34 n.
Chasteauneuf, Mons. le, v. 343 n.
Chavigny, Mons. de, v. 356.
Chester, the King's intent of summoning, 1645, v. 127. loss of, 167.
Chevereux, Duchess of, 343 n. Parliament discovers her cypher, 107. anecdote of, *ibid.* n.
Chichester, Francis Leigh, Lord Dunsmore, Earl of, v. 114 n, 124.
Choquex, Mons. v. 267, 275, 302, 311.
Christina, Queen of Sweden, v. 194, 195, 197, 200, 204, 206, 207, 217, 219, 325. gives an assignation to French Ambassador, 194. anecdotes of, *ibid.* n. her meeting with Prince of Condé, 209 and n, 210. at Brussels, 1654, 213.
Church of England, innovations of the Parliament in the, 1641, v. 23 n, 24 and n, 26 and n, 32, 61, 116. protested against by the Lords, 27. protection of, by Charles I. 53 and m, 63, 66, 143. performed in Sir Richard Browne's house in Paris, 297 n, 369.
Clare, John Holles, Earl of, protests against an order in the Commons, 1641, v. 26 n.
Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of. (*See* Hyde.) his *Life, History of the Rebellion, and State Papers*, referred to, v. 34 n, 36 n, 38 n, 150 n, 233 n, 234 n, 237 n, 239 n, 249 n, 250 n, 251 n, 255 n, 256 n, 257 n, 258 n, 260 n, 266 n, 268 n, 271 n, 284 n, 288 n, 289 n, 295 n, 299 n, *bis.* 307 n, 316 n, *bis.* 318 n, 320 n, 322 n, 332 n, 333 n, 339 n, 341 n, 345 n, 346 n.
Clerk, George, Sheriff of London, loyalty of, 1641, v. 45.
Clotworthy, Sir John, accused of peculation, v. 79 n.
Colepeper, Sir John, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1641, v. 27.
Collins, Arthur, his *Peerage*, referred to, v. 10 n, 36 n.
Commissioners and Committees of Parliament, various proceedings of, 1641, v. 5 and n, 6, 11, 16, 22, 23, 24, 35 and n, 39 and n, 46, 47, 49, 52, 55, 57, 69, 80, 84, 86, 89.
Common Prayer, Book of, ordered by the House of Lords, to be observed, 1641, v. 27. opposed by the Brownists, &c. 32. denied being read, 1644, 116.
Compton, Sir Spencer, gallantry in youth, v. 198 n.
———— Sir William, surprizes Compton House, 1644, v. 114.
Conally, Owen, discovers Irish Rebellion, 78 and n, 79. Parliament reward for, 79.

Condé, Louis, Prince of, and his party, referred to, v. 240 and n, 241 n, 244 n, 246 n, 248 n, 250 n, 264 n, 270 n, 272, 286 n, 296, 356. meeting with Queen Christina, 209 and n, 210, 213. proceedings of, July 1648, 361, 365, 366. professes friendship for Charles I. 352. his insurrectionary army, 1653, 300, 301, notes.
Constable of the Tower ordered to reside in the fortress, 1641, v. 6.
Conversano, Conte, v. 367.
Conway, Edward, Lord, v. 113 n.
Conyers, Sir Jo. Parliament examines about O'Neal's affair, 104 and n.
Cook, Dr. George, Bishop of Hereford, questioned by the Parliament, 1641, v. 67 and n.
Cosins, Dr. John, Bishop of Durham, v. 297 and n.
Cotterell, Sir Charles, v. 194, 196, 217.
Cottington, Sir Francis, Lord, summoned by the Queen, 1641, v. 48. referred to, 58, 128 n. King Charles I. requires his presence in Parliament, 100.
Coventry, Thomas, Lord, summoned by the Queen, 1641, v. 48.
Courland, Duke of, v. 119.
Cowley, Abraham, letter of, referred to, v. 185 n. ditto about treaty of Breda, 189 n.
Crew, ——, a commissioner at Newport, 1648, v. 173 n.
Crispe, a confidential servant of King Charles I. 34 n. and n.
Crofts, Mr. 275 n, 356. Parliament discovers his cypher, 107. account of him, *ibid.* n.
Cromwell, Oliver, v. 132, 168, 181 n, 189 n, 190 n, 194 n, 196 n, 197 and n, 199, 200, 202, 206 n, 209, 214, 219, 270 n, 299 n, 312, 315 n, 321 and n, 325 and n, 328, 332, 355 and n, 336, 342. dissolves Long Parliament, 197 n, 289 and n. assumes the Protectorate, 197, 199, 312. his Parliament, 1654; and its dissolution, 201 and n. procures Charles II.'s cruizers to be shut out from Brest, 1655, 323, 326. sends a squadron to the Indies, 326.
Cropredy Bridge, Battle of, 1644, v. 122 n.
Crowther, Mr. v. 347.
Culpepper, John, Lord, v. 114 n, 121, 124, 148 n, 186 and n. letter of James Duke of York to, 1650, 187.
Cumberland, Henry Clifford, Earl of, referred to, 148 n. summoned by the Queen, 1641, v. 47.
Curtius, ——, notice of, v. 196 n, 204, 205.
Cypher, various letters in, with interpretations, v. 117 *bis.* 127, 129—131, 132, 134, 135, 136—138, 139, 140, 141, 146, 152, 154, 155 *bis.* 164, 165, 181, 248, 254—257, 259, 261, 262, 263, 272. notices concerning various cyphers, 136, 140, 142 *bis.* 164, 280.

D'Ameron, Mons. v. 215.
D'Anguien, Duke, 1644, v. 360.
Deane, Mr. v. 304.
De Brie, ——, v. 217.
De Camper, Mons. v. 285.
Declaration from King Charles I. 1641, v. 14, 15. from the Parliament, against Superstitious Rites, &c. 23 n. of the Commons against the Lords, 27, 28, 32, 35. of ditto on the State of the Kingdom, 81. of ditto on the Army for Ireland, 85 n, 93, 101. from King Charles I. against Orders in Parliament made without him, 99. of the House of Commons on ill Counsels, 90, 101, 106, 107 and n, 110. of Freedom of the Ports, 342.

De Larrey, Isaac, his character of Duke of Richmond, v. 28 n. of Lord Warwick, 75 n. of Sir Henry Vane, jun. 159 n. of Sir Edward Nicholas, 179 n.
Delft, explosion at, 1654, v. 204.
Denmark, Christian IV. King of, v. 119. reported present of to Charles II. 273 n.
Derby, James Stanley, Earl of, 1649, v. 177 n.
Desguynes, Connestable de, v. 340.
De Vic, Sir Henry, v. 113 n, 206 n, 210, 213 and n, 342.
Devonshire, Wm Cavendish, Duke of, summoned by the Queen, 1641, v. 48.
De Wit faction in Holland, proceedings, 1654, v. 205 and n, 255 n.
Digby, George, Lord, referred to, v. 61, 95 n, 119, 124, 138, 139, 141, 150 n, 152 n, 155, 233. letters to, 357 *bis.* 358, 359, 366. opposes "Instructions" to Commissioners at Edinburgh, 95, 96. King Charles thanks him, *ibid.* Prince Rupert, &c. quarrel about defeat at Sherbourne, 150 n.
——— Mr. John, son of the Earl of Bristol, v. 97, 99.
Dillon, Capt. in navy of Charles II. in exile, v. 319, 320.
Dishington, Sir T. v. 355.
Dolman, Mr. Thomas, v. 202 and n.
Dorset, Edward Sackville, Earl of, v. 132.
Douglas, Marquis of, estates in France, v. 353.
——— Mr. v. 259.
——— Colonel, a commander for the French King, 1643, 353 *bis.*
Dunluce Castle, in Ireland, v. 93 and note.
Dunsmore, Francis Leigh, Lord, King Charles I. requires him to attend Parliament, v. 100.
Duppa, Dr. Brian, Bishop of Chichester, his translations, v. 45 n. tutor to Prince Charles, 137 n.

Earle, Dr. John, Bishop of Salisbury, with King Charles II. in exile, v. 197, 249 n, 307.
Edgman, Mr. William, v. 289, 306, 313, 368. fidelity to Sir E. Hyde, 250 and n.
Edward, Prince, 1644, v. 360.
Eikon Basilike, arguments that it was written by Charles I. v. 169 n, 175 n. malicious French translation of, 175—177.
Elector, Charles of Bavaria, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, referred to, v. 3 n. 10 and n, 182 n, 194 n, 227 n, 257 and n. Sir Richard Browne sent to him (1641), 221. letter of thanks to Sir Richard Browne, 112. joins the Parliament, 113 n, 221 n. comes to London, 1644, 360. ingratitude to Charles I. 257 n.
Elliot, Mr. Thomas, v. 63, 65, 145. notice of, 65 n.
England, political state of, 1646, v. 213 n.; 1652, 244; 1653, 303, 312.
Erizzo, Francisco, Doge of Venice, treatment of King Charles II.'s Ambassador, 1652, v. 258 and n.
Erlack, ——, v. 365, 366.
Erwin, or Irvine, James Campbell, Earl of, a commander for the French King, 1643, v. 353 *bis.*
Essex, Robert Devereux, Earl of, Lord General of the Parliament, his estimate of the debts of the army, v. 7. Scotish forces stated by, 22 n. pursues the Royal army, 122 n. Lord Chamberlain, 1641, Charles I.'s directions to, 86 n, 108, 109. letter to Prince Rupert, granting a pass to Royal Commissioners to the Parliament (1644, Dec.) 125.

Evelyn, John, references to his *Diary*, vol. i. s. 37, p. 108, v. 18 n.
Exeter, Parliament's terms of capitulation to, alluded to, v. 162, 163, 164. siege of, 167.

Fairfax, Sir Thomas, Lord, referred to, v. 123 n, 131 n, 132 n, 136 and n, 160 n, 162 n, 168 *bis.* 322 n.
Faithful Post, 1653, journal so called, v. 293 n.
Faithful Scout, 1653, journal so called, v. 301 n.
Falkland, Lucius Cary, Lord Viscount, 1641, v. 27 n. supports King Charles I.'s right to elect officers, 70.
Fanshaw, Richard, v. 188.
Farrande, v. 267.
Ferte Imbault, Mons. de la, zeal for the Parliament, &c. v. 354, 355.
Finch, Lord Keeper (Sir John), letter of Charles I. to, 1641 .. 21. referred to, 16 m, 22, 30, 31, 34, 39, 51 *bis.* 52 and m, 55 n 59, 63 *bis.* 66, 68, 72, 77, 81, 83, 84, 85, 89, 90, 92, 94, 96, 98, 100, 105.
Flanders, apprehensions of the French army in, v. 200.
Fleetwood, Sir George, his report of Cromwell's dissimulation, v. 199.
Florence, agent of the Duke of, Parliament offers an affront to, v. 103.
Foster, Sir Richard, v. 271, 277, 287, 290, 297, 298.
Fox, Colonel, v. 152.
France, v. 239, 273, 312, 321, 352. Scotch forces serving in, 1643, 353. fleet sent to Naples, 1648, 362, 364, 365, 367. proceedings of Court and Parliament, 347, 361, 363 *bis.* 365, 369. parties in, 1652, 250 n. desirous to conclude a treaty with Cromwell, 1653, 317 and n. temporising policy of, about Cromwell's Ambassador, 1656, 335.
Fraser, or Frisoll, Mr. 1641, v. 29, 216.
——— Dr. 260 and n, 275 n.
French Intelligencer, 1656, quoted, v. 334 n.
Fuensaldague, General under the Prince of Condé, v. 301 n.
Fullerton, Colonel in the French King's service, 1643, v. 353 *bis.*

Gardiner, Sir Thomas, v. 114 n.
Garland, Sir Patrick, v. 321 and n.
Garrarde, ——, v. 130.
General Pardon issued by Charles I. 1641, v. 14 and n, 27. dislike of, 15.
Gerard, General, his accusation of Lord Digby, 1645, v. 150 n.
——— Lord, v. 182, 209 and n, 260 n.
Gerbier, Sir Balth. conduct at Paris, 1643, v. 355.
Glemham, Sir Thomas, appointed Governor of Oxford, 147 n, 148. King Charles I.'s directions respecting the siege of Oxford, 152. directs him to facilitate his breaking through the rebels to Oxford, 156. 157. Fairfax refuses to allow him to send to the King, 162 n.
Glencairn, William Cunningham, 11th Earl of, Lord Commissioner of the Treasury for Scotland, v. 43 n.
Gloucester, Henry Stuart, Duke of, v. 212, 215, 293. Queen Henrietta endeavours to pervert his religion, 192 and n, 205 n, 207, 208 and notes. letter of King Charles II. to, 1654, on that subject, 191—193.
Glynne, Serjeant ——, a commissioner at Newport, 1648, v. 173 n.
Goodman, Dr. Godfrey, Bishop of Gloucester, impeached by Parliament, 1641, v. 66 and n, 98 n.
Goring, Colonel, Parliament examines him, 1641, v. 12 n, 37 n, 110. their suspicions of, 108.
——— General, George, Earl of Norwich, 131 n, 136 and n, 146, 147, 154, 155, 177 m, 200, 212. account of, 110 n. King Charles's direc-

tions to before battle of Naseby (June, 1645), 129 n. defeated by the Parliament, 1645, 136 n.
Gouge, Dr. ——, 1641, v. 32 and n.
Grammont, Anthony Hamilton, Marshall de, v. 364. his *Memoires* cited, 97 n.
Gray, Andrew, 8th Lord, a leader for the French King, 1643, v. 353.
Grebner, Ezekiel, his *Visions and Prophecies concerning England, &c.* 1661, v. 19 n, 44 n, 79 n, 220 n.
Greene, Mr. v. 87, 89.
Grenville, Sir Richard and John, afterwards Earl of Bath, discontented with the Royalists, 1645, v. 137, 138. imprisoned by them, 137 n. letters of Charles II. to procure arms and men, &c. 1650, 184. to hold himself ready for his service, 185.
Gressy, Mons. de, v. 355.
Griffin, Mr. engaged in service of Charles II. in exile, v. 319.
Grimstone, Sir Harbottle, a commissioner at Newport, 1648, v. 173 n.
Guise, Duke of, his death, v. 209 n.
Gurney, Sir Richard, Alderman, Lord Mayor of London, 1641, v. 44, 75, 104.
Gustavus X. King of Sweden, successor to Christina, 1654-5, v. 211 and n. invades Poland, 215 and n, 325, 336.
Guthrie, William, his *General History of Scotland*, referred to, v. 44 n.

Hall, Dr. Joseph, Bishop of Exeter, translated to Norwich, 1641, v. 45 n. questioned by Parliament, 66 and n.
Halle, —— v. 217.
Hamilton, James, third Marquis, flies from the Court and Scotch Parliament, 1641, v. 57, 64, 83. his letters to King Charles alluded to, 74, 83. speech of published, 96. his envy of Marquis of Montrose, 114 n, 115 n. estates in France, 353. executed, 1648, 75 n. various references to, 27, 77.
Hamilton, Lieut.-Col. v. 147, 148.
Hammond, Col. Robert his promise to Charles I. v. 160 n.
Hampton Court, 1641, v. 108, 110, 171.
Harby, Sir Job, employed by King Charles I. in confidential service, v. 34, 46, 49, 55, 65, 164. his family, 34 n.
Harcourt, Count, 254.
Harding, Mr. Richard, allusions to by Queen of Bohemia, v. 200, 204, 208, 210, 212.
Hardwick State Papers, 1778, cited, v. 57 n, 113 n, 206 n.
Harleian Manuscripts referred to, v. 111 n, 113 n. 122 n.
Hartogen, v. 184.
Hatton, Christopher, Lord, v. 114 n, 133, 154, 177 n, 266.
Hemly Hall, Staffordshire, v. 127.
Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I. references to, v. 4, 5, 6 m, 8, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21 m, 25 m, 28 m and n, 29 and m, 33 and m, 34 and m, 35 and m, 36, 37 n, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 54, 55, 56, 58, 62, 63, 65, 66, 72, 73, 74, 75, 80, 82 and m, 83, 86 m, 92, 94, 97, 100, 105, 110, 128 n, 132 n, 133, 134, 136, 144, 145, 147, 154, 155, 233, 252, 262 n, 264 n, 275 n, 277 n, 293 n, 315 n, 316 n, 322 n, 325 n, 339, 346 n, 369. her order of Capuchins, 5 n, 33 and n, 80, 228, 229 and n. summons of Lords and Bishops by, 46, 47. claim for remainder of her dowry, 226 and n. letter on reception of Charles I. at Edinburgh, 4. directions to Sir Edward Nicholas about King Charles's free pardon, 15. answer to Parliament concerning the education of the Prince, 74 n.

intercedes with the Lords for Father Phillips, 87 n. letters to Sir Edward Nicholas, to direct attendance of Earl Caernarvon in Parliament, 88. to forward her dispatch, 91, 92; to direct the attendance of certain Lords in Parliament, &c. 99, 100; to inform Earl of Essex, as Lord Chamberlain, to prepare for the King's return from Scotland, 108, 109. attempts to pervert religion of Duke of Gloucester, 192 and n, 205 n, 208 and n.

Herbert, Sir Edward, Attorney-General, 1641, v. 15, 22, 67 m, 90, 94, 96, 100, 105, 106, 155, 238 n, 260 n, 274, 275, 276, 284 n, 288, 299, 345 n. King Charles I.'s observations on the conduct of, 154.

——— Lady, v. 197, 202, 261.

——— Sir Thomas, his *Memoirs of King Charles I.* referred to, v. 160 n. 169 n.

Hertford, William Seymour, Marquis of, v. 71 and n, 74 n, 114 n, 117, 124, 137 n, 165, 181.

Hertfordshire, gentlemen of, desirous of attending King Charles on his return from Scotland, 1641, v. 103, 109.

Hinton, Mr. William, letter of Charles II. to, about bills of exchange, &c. for his use, 1650, v. 183, 184.

Holborne, Mr. supports King Charles's right to election of officers, v. 70.

Holder, Mr. v. 241 n, 242, 269, 276, 280, 283. Sir Edward Hyde's opinion of, 266 and n, 272, 278.

Holland, Henry Rich, first Earl of, v. 16 n, 75. account of, 354, 75 n. commission appointing him Lord General beyond Trent, 105.

——— Cromwell's dissimulation with, v. 199. certain places in Ireland and Scotland proposed to be given to, to engage its assistance to Charles II. 1652, 257, 261, 262. politics of, 1652, 253; 1653, 301. fleet defeated, 293 n. concludes peace with Cromwell, 1653, 317. letter of States of to Princess Dowager of Orange, on a report of Charles II. being at Tilling, 1655, 219.

Holles, Mr. Jarvis, his message to the Lords against the Bishops, 1641, v. 64.

Hollis, Denzil, a commissioner at Newport, 1648, v. 173 n.

Holmes, Mr. v. 294.

Holy Island, stores taken from by the Parliament, v. 22.

Hopton, Sir Arthur, v. 58 and n, 177 m.

——— Sir Ralph (afterwards Lord Hopton), 58 n.

Horses of Charles II. sold, 1650, v. 186, 187.

Howard, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, Earl Marshal, v. 13, 19, 26, 46, 59.

Howard, Mrs. v. 195.

Huguenots of France, zealous for Cromwell, 336.

Hume, David, his *History of England* referred to, v. 137 n.

Hungate, Sir Henry and Sir Philip, v. 91 and n, 92, 94, 109.

Huntingdon, Henry Hastings, Earl of, summoned by the Queen, 1641, v. 47.

Huntingdon, Mayor of, addresses King Charles I. on his return from Scotland, 1641, 112 n.

Hyde, Sir Edward (afterwards Earl of Clarendon), supports King Charles's right to election of officers, v. 70. with the Prince of Wales, 1645, 233. correspondence with Sir R. Browne (1646—1659) on affairs of Charles II. and of Europe, 231, 237—347. dissatisfied with Charles's leaving Jersey for Paris, 1646, 237. on a servant of Sir R. Browne, 244. his distress in exile, 264, 266, 269 n, 273, 283, 308, 315. his opinion of Mr. Taylor, Charles II.'s agent with Emperor of Germany, 256 and n; of Mr. Holder, 241, 266 and n. 272. illness, 278, *See Carteret*, charges brought against

315 n. present sent to by Sir R. Browne, 306, 307, 313, 315. sickness, 323. borrows money of Sir R. Browne, 325. at Antwerp, 1656, 334, 344, 345. made Lord Chancellor, and envy on his appointment, 1658, 235, 345 and n. his daughter privately married to Duke of York, *ibid.* note. interests himself about a person imprisoned, 346 and n. referred to, 114 n, 121, 188 and n, 196, 206, 210, 217, 234, 235, 264 n, 275 n, 295 n, 299 n, 302 n, 305 n, 315 n, 341 n.

Hyde, Anne (afterwards Duchess of York), v. 197. Sir S. Compton in love with, 198 n. at a Masquerade at Tilling, 1654-5, 206, 217. privately married to James, Duke of York, 345 n.

James, Duke of York, afterwards James II. referred to, v. 130, 146, 147, 154, 182, 192 n, 197 n, 241 and n, 242, 276, 278, 292, 293 n, 295, 304, 313, 321, 322 and n, 323 n, 327, 331, 340, 341, 343, 347. letters, to Sir Edward Nicholas and Lord Culpepper, for money to prevent sale of the King's horses, &c. 186, 187; 1651, on the King's esteem for Sir Edward, 188. gallantry of in an engagement with the Prince of Condé, 1651, 242 and n. in favour at the French Court, 1651, 369, 1652, 273 n. with the army of Turenne, 1563, 278 n, 311, 312 n. quarrels with Charles II. 1658, 345 n.

Jermyn, Henry, Lord, pension granted to by Charles I. 358. influence in Court of Charles II. in exile, 274 n. conduct as Treasurer to Charles II. 307 n. allusions and various references to, 233, 240 and n, 259, 263 n, 274, 275 and n, 315 n, 335, 337, 339, 346 and n, 364, 366. letters to, 358, 360.

——— Mr. v. 259. proceedings against, 1641, 5 n, 12 and n.

Jewels, Crown, order of Parliament on report of their being pawned, v. 28 n.

Inchiquin, Murrough O'Bryen, Lord, v. 263 n, 276, 277.

Incident, The, 1641, account of that affair, v. 57, 59, 62, 64, 74, 77, 78, 83.

Innisboffin, v. 242. besieged by the Parliament, 1653, and captured, 279 n, 282, 300.

John Cassimir, King of Poland, 1654, v. 211.

Jonson, Dr. v. 240.

Joyce, Cornet, v. 171 n.

Ireland, ships kept back from, 1641, v. 20. Rebellion in the North of, 64, 65 n, 76, 78, 79 and n. discoverer of rewarded, 79. Parliament treats with the City of London for pay of soldiers in, 78. progress of the Rebels in, 82. Troops sent to, *ibid.* 84. Commons order Lord Lieutenant to raise Volunteers, 93. Rebels give out that they are instigated by the King, *ibid.* 79, 103, 106, 144, 145. progress of the Rebellion in, 96, 144. Scotch troops employed to quell, 96, 101. committees of Parliament prepare Instructions for Lord Lieutenant, 104. arms, &c. sent to, 1642, 352. remark of King Charles I. respecting, 65 n. intrigues of Spain with, 158. envoys sent by the usurped authority of, 1642, v. 227 and n. proceedings in, 1653, for Charles II. 291. 1654. 319, 320.

Irish Parliament prorogued, 1641, v. 51.

Irish regiments, France and Spain apply to Parliament for v. 8 n. King Charles engages to grant to Spain, 8, 9. Lords and Commons hold a conference concerning, 9. refuse them, 10 n, 25.

Isle of Wight, debate on its government, 1641, v. 80, 106. the King's farewell speech there, 173.

Juxon, Dr. William, Bishop of London, King Charles consults him about the vacant Bishopricks, 1641, v. 31 m, 41, 45 and m, 65. referred to, 87.

Kepley, William, v. 198.
Ker, William, Lord, of Cessford, v. 21, 29 and n *bis*.
Killigrew, Thomas, various references to, v. 77, 97, 98, 204, 206, 217, 218, 219, 304, 305, 314. his family, 72 and n. witticism by, 218 n. complaint against him as King Charles II.'s Envoy to Venice, 1652, 258 and n.
Killigrew, Mrs. Katharine, v. 195 and n, 198.
Kilsythe, Marquis Montrose defeats Covenanters at, 1645, v. 153 n.
Kimbolton, Henry, Montague, Lord, protests against an order in the Commons, 1641, v. 26 n. account of, 36 n. faction meets at his house, 37.
King, Dr. Henry, made Bishop of Chichester, 1641, v. 45 n. licensed to be absent from Parliament, 76 and m.
King-Killers, History of the, character of Pym in, 101 n.
Kings, precedents for the murder of, 174 n.
Kingston, Henry Pierpoint, Earl of, v. 114 n.

Lambert, Major-Gen. John, besieges Pomfret Castle, 1649, v. 371, 372.
Lane, Sir Richard, v. 114 n.
Lanerick, Lord, flies from Court and Scotch Parliament, 1641, v. 57 and n, 83.
Langdale, Sir Marmaduke, v. 155, 190 and n.
Langton, Mr. v. 362.
Lectures in Parish Churches sanctioned by Parliament, 1641, v. 24 n.
Legge, Capt. William (ancestor of the Dartmouth family), King Charles orders him to be apprehended, 1645, 148 and n, 152. alluded to, 104 and n.
Leicester, Robert Sidney, Earl of, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1641, v. 50 n, 76, 77, 78, 80, 93, 224 and n.
Leicester, capture of, v. 134 n.
Lenthall, William, Speaker of the House of Peers, v. 170.
Letters, difficulty of their conveyance, v. 252, 253, 260, 281, 283.
Lilburn, Col. John, v. 196 n, 197
Lindsey, John, first Earl of, Lord Commissioner of the Treasury for Scotland, v. 43 n.
Lloyd, Dr. William, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, Chaplain with Charles II. in exile, 1653, v. 275 n.
Lockhart, Mr. Cromwell's Ambassador at Paris, 1656, v. 56, 332 and n, 334, 335, 336, 340, 341.
London, City of, dispute about right of electing Sheriffs, 1641, v. 11 n. sickness in, 17, 30, 52. forfeiture of Londonderry from, 18 and n. tumults of the apprentices, 37 n, 101 n. King Charles grants the allowance to merchants by Act of Tonnage and Poundage, &c. omitted by Parliament, 1641, 21, 22, 40. Lord Mayor, &c. desire to attend the King through London on return from Scotland, 40, 50, 51, 81, 82 m, 99, 100. purpose giving an entertainment to him, 109, 110. proceedings at election of Lord Mayor, 1641, 44, 45. guards doubled by Parliament, 57. Parliament treats with for money to pay soldiers in Ireland, 78. treaty with on the Militia, 116.

Londonderry, forfeiture of to King Charles II. proceedings upon, 1641, v. 18, 49.
Long, Mr. Robert, Secretary to Charles II. in exile, v. 179 and n, 180. brings charge against Sir Edward Hyde, 315 n.
Lords, protest of the House of, against the Commons, 1641, v. 26 n. choose their own Speaker, 66, 93. proceedings of on, the Irish Rebellion, 79. debate of on excluding the Popish Peers, 93. letters from Charles I. to the Speaker of the (6th March 1646-47), 169.
Lorraine, Duke of, 1652, v. 243 n, 263, 264 n, 343 n.
Lothian, William Kerr, third Earl of, Lord Commissioner of the Treasury for Scotland, v. 43 n.
Loudoun, Sir John Campbell, Earl of, 1641, v. 40 and n. in France, 1642, 353, 354 *bis*.
Louyr, ———, a painter at the Hague, 1654, v. 200.
Lubnam, Leicestershire, v. 134.
Lucas, Sir Gervas, v. 271, 306 *bis*, and n, 310, 311, 314, 315, 316.
Lucas, Lady, v. 307, 308, 313, 314.
Lundy, James Campbell, Lord, in the French King's service, 1643, v. 353, *bis*.
Lyon, Mons. v. 339.
Lyttleton, Sir Edward, Lord Keeper, notices of, v 5. and n, 6 n, 7, 9 and n, 10, 14, 15, 65 n.

Maeguire, Lord, rebellion, and execution of, 1641, v. 76 and n.
Mackworth, Sir Humphrey, v. 238 and n.
Macmahon, Hugh, discovery of the Irish Rebellion by, 1641, v. 78 n.
Maffonett, ——, v. 289.
Manchester, Henry Montague, Earl of, Lord Privy Seal, chosen Speaker of the House of Lords 1641, v. 66
———-—— Edward, Earl of, joins the Scottish army, v. 123 n. mentioned, 202 n.
Mandeville, Henry, Montague, Lord, notices of, v. 36 and n, 37.
Manning, Captain, his treachery to King Charles II. &c. 211 n.
Mainwaring, Sir Philip, 10 and n.
Manwaring, Dr. Roger, Bishop of St. David's, Parliament sequestrates, 1641, v. 10 n.
Marces, Mons. Charles II. discharges a debt to, v. 324, 329.
Marston Moor, battle of, King Charles's commands to Prince Rupert respecting, 122 n, 123 n.
Marsys, Mons. publishes a libel against Charles I. 1649, v. 175—177.
Martyn, Capt. 334, 337. offers himself for Spanish service, 1656, 330.
Massonet, ———, v. 315 n.
Maurice, Prince, v. 124, 150 n, 215, 220 n.
May, Thomas, *History of the Long Parliament*, 1647, referred to, v. 36 n, 61 n, 65 n.
Maynwaring, Sir Arthur, notice of, v. 16 n, 22.
Mazarine, Julius, Cardinal, political intrigues of, 161 n, 238 n, 240, 242 n, 246 n, 272 n, 299 n, 317 n, 321 and n, 343, 356, 367.
Meldrum, Captain for Charles II., 1654, v. 319 n, 331 n.
Melleray, Marshal, political intrigues of, v. 267 and n, 272 n, 292, 294, 296, 297, 300, 303, 304, 306, 310. seizes on English ships, 1652, 270. claims a fee from prizes taken for Charles II. in exile, 299, 309.
Mennes, Sir John, his verses on the Duchess of Chevreux, v. 107 n. loyalty to King Charles I. 249 and n.

Mentz, Elector of, 1654, 217.
Mercœur, Duke of, v. 349 n.
Mercurius Politicus, a journal cited, v. 248 n, 277 n, 319 n, 343 n.
Mercurius Rusticus quoted, v. 116 n.
Merode, ————, v. 200.
Merrick, Serjeant Major, Parliament sends to Ireland, 1641, v. 82 and n.
Middlesex, James Cranfield, Earl of, a Commissioner at Newport, 1648, v. 173 n.
Middleton, Lieut.-Gen. transports arms, &c. to Scotland for Charles II's service, 1653, v. 312 and n.
Militia, various notices concerning the, 1644, v. 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121.
Miscellanea Aulica, referred to, v. 185 n, 189 n, 192 n, 216 n.
Modena, Duke of, v. 343 n.
Moderate Publisher, 1653, a journal cited, v. 282 n.
Mohun, Mrs. Philippa, v. 202.
Monk, General, George, his army, 1654, v. 197 and n, 199.
Monro, Sir George, v. 202.
Montague, Walter, Abbot of Pontoise, v. 36 n, 346 n. attempts to pervert religion of Duke of Gloucester, 1654, 191, 208 n.
———— Henry, Lord, employed to purchase arms, &c. for Charles I. 1643, v. 356, 357.
Montgomery Castle declares for the King, v. 127.
Montreuil, Mons. v. 160. deceived by Mazarine, 161 n.
Montrose, James Graham, Marquis of, trial, 1641, v. 44. Charles I. determines not to treat without him, 114, 115, 119. account of, 114, 115 n. defeats the Covenanters at Kilsythe, 153 n. state of, Dec. 1646, 168.
Morgan, ————, v. 197 n.
———— Capts. 218.
Morice, Mr. v. 300.—Col. Governor of Pomfret Castle for Charles I. 1648, account of, 371—373.
Morley, Dr. George, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, with Charles II. in exile, v. 194, 197, 201.
Morton, Countess of, v. 213.
Murray, Col. Charles, 238 n, 239 n.
———— Mr. Mungo, 53, 54. notice of, *ibid* n.
———— Mr. Wm. in the confidence of Charles I. v. 9, 20, 30, 33, 40 m, 62, 77, 81, 92, 107 n, 370.
———— Col. William, v. 152, 153.

Nelson, John, *Collection of the Affairs of State*, v. 27 n.
Naples, state of, 1648, v. 365, 367.
Naseby, battle of, v. 129 n. King Charles holds a Council of War before, 134 n.
Nassau-Dietz, William Frederick, Prince of, 1654, v. 205 n, 215 n.
Navy, provided for by Act of Tonnage and Poundage, 1641, v. 5 n, 17 and n. state of, 1648, 234. of Charles II. in exile, 1656, 279 n, 280 n, 281 n, 282 n, 284 n, 293 n, 330.
Neuborg, Marquis de, enterprise against Ushant, 1653, v. 285.
Newcastle, William Cavendish, first Marquis of, v. 364. summoned by the Queen, 1641, 48. leaves England, 123 n. tutor to Prince Charles, 137 n.

Newport, King's farewell speech and Commissioners at, 1648, v. 173 and n.

————, Montjoy Blount, first Earl of, protests against an order in the Commons, 1641, v. 26 n.

Nicholas, Sir Edward, Secretary of State, letters to and from King Charles I. 1641—48, v. 1—173. Charles I.'s testimony to his worthy 13 m. desires to remove to the country, 17, 30. directions about Collar of Rubies, 28 m, 34, 46, 49, 55, 65, 72. urges the importance of, Charles I.'s return from Scotland, 25, 38, 44, 50, 51, 52, 54, 62, 71, 77, 81, 82, 85, 87, 88, 90, 91, 96. advises the King about vacant Bishopricks, 31, 32, 41, 42, 90. advises him of treacherous counsellors about his person, 38, 59, 63. advises him concerning his officers, and the trial of the Marquis of Montrose, 44. zeal in the King's service, 54, 56, 84. anxiety about the "Incident," 57, 58, 59, 62, 64, 74, 83. his letters disclosed, 72. thanks the King for destroying his letters, 74, 105. advises him to require attendance of all Members in Parliament, 81. King Charles promises to protect him, 84 m. letters of Queen Henrietta to, 4, 47. ditto to direct Earl of Caernarvon to attend in Parliament, 88. ditto to forward dispatches, 91, 92. desires the King to destroy or return his letters for his greater safety, 88, 91. advises him to defer signing the 13 Bishops' pardon, 98. his illness, 99, 100. advises the King to receive the gentry of Hertfordshire, 103, 109. knighted by King Charles I. 111 n. letters of Sir R. Browne to, 1642 and 1643, 347—357. his opinion in a Council of War held Dec. 1644 about sending to the Parliament, 126. King Charles I. thankful for his services, 1645, 128 n. directed to put Oxford upon short allowance, 130. letter by the King's command sent Sir Harry Vane the younger (Mar. 1646), for his interest, that he might come to London, 156. the King again acknowledges his services, and recommends him to the Prince, 1648, 172. letter concerning Marsy's translation of the *Eikon Basilike*, 1649, 175-177. letter to King Charles II. 1649, on his counsellors, 177—180. Charles II.'s promise to, 180. letters of James Duke of York to, for money, 186; of the same, on Charles II.'s esteem for Sir Edward, 188; of King Charles II. to, 1652, 188; of Mary, Princess Dowager of Orange, to, on Charles II.'s affairs, 1653, 189; of Charles II. to keep together his friends, 190; of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia to, 1654-55, 193—219. De Larrey's character of, 179 n. referred to, 114 n, 124, 233, 262 n, 269 n, 275 n, 284 n, 295 n, 334 n, 344, 346, 362. arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle, 193. letters to, from Sir Richard Browne, 351—356, 358.

Nichols, Mr. Anthony, v. 15. Parliament sends him to Edinburgh, 1641, 16. his charges, *ibid.* n.

Nichols, John, his *Literary Anecdotes* referred to, v. 175 n.

Nicols, Mr. v. 238 and n, 240.

Northumberland, Algernon Percy, Earl of, a Commissioner at Newport, 1648, v. 173 n, 322 n.

Nulls, Sir John, v. 34.

Oatlands, mansion at, referred to, v. 4 n, 17, 30, 35, 56, 63, 66, 76, 87, 97, 171 n. Queen Henrietta resides at, 4, 14, 15, 74 n.

O'Beirne, Sullivan, Col. active in service of Charles II. in exile, 1653, v. 291 and n, 292. 1654, 318, 319, 320.

Oblivion, Act of, proceedings upon the, 1641, v. 12.

O'Brian, Mortagh, v. 320.

O'Neale, Captain Daniel, v. 76 n, 275 n. his danger from Parliament, 37, 38 and n. arrested, 39 n, 40. committed to the Gatehouse, 60. Parliament examines, 60, 103, 104, 106.
Opdam, Admiral, v. 200.
Orange, Prince of, 1641, his protection of the Queen Mother, v. 26, referred to, 181, 182, 186 and n, 220 n, 222.
——— Mary, Princess Dowager of, letter to Sir E. Nicholas on Charles's affairs, 1653, v. 189. letter of the States to, on a report of King Charles II. being at Tilling, 1655, references to, 195, 205 n, 215, 217, 219.
——— William, Prince of, afterwards William III. mentioned, v. 215.
Orleanes, Mons. v. 339.
Orleans, Duke of, v. 250, 360, 364, 365. governed by De Retz, 1654, 343 n.
———, Henrietta, Duchess of, v. 193, 251 n.
Ormond, James Butler, Marquis of, (1654), v. 346 n, 364, 365, 367. conduct in the attempt to pervert the religion of the Duke of Gloucester, v. 207, 208 notes.
Ondart, Mr. confidence of the Kings Charles I. and II. in, v. 171 and n, 182.
Owen, Dr. John, Bishop of St. Asaph, questioned by the Parliament, 1641, v. 67 and n.
——— Dr. Morgan, Bishop of Landaff, questioned by the Parliament, 1641, v. 67 and n.
Oxford, Parliament resolved to besiege (1645), v. 127 n. King Charles I. designs to relieve, 129, 130, 131, 132 n. directs the removing of all the disaffected, 152. design of breaking through Rebel troops to, 155. his escape from, 160 n. his directions for the surrender of, 162 and n, 163.

Palmer, Jeffrey, v. 114 n.
Panmure, George Maule, second Earl of, remark on Charles I. being delivered up by the Scots, v. 169 n.
Paris, Parliament of, proceedings of (July 1648), v. 361, 363 *bis*, 365, 366.
PARLIAMENT, proceedings of (1641), v. 3 n, 5 and n, 6 and n, 8 n, 9, 10 n, 11 n, 12, 27. respecting the garrison of the Tower, 6. orders Recusants to be disarmed, &c. 6, 16, 80, 94, 102, 229 n. refuses Irish regiments to Spain, 8 n, 10 n, 25. sequesters Dr. Roger Manwaring, 10 n. sequesters pay of Col. Wilmot, &c. 11. House of Peers orders ballad against Queen Mother to be burnt, 12. takes exception at the King's pardon, 14, 15. adjournment of, 15, 17, 18, 24, 26, 52, 55. proceedings on King Charles's answer to the Parliamentary Commission, 15, 16 and n. on the Act of Tonnage and Poundage, 5 n, 17 and n, 21, 22, 35, 52. on forfeiture of Londonderry, 18 and n, 49. House of Peers orders Sir J. Pennington to delay going to Ireland, 20. Committees of both Houses meet, 22, 24. order garrisons of Carlisle and Berwick to be paid, 23. directions to Lord Admiral, 22. declaration of, against superstitious rites, &c. 23. proceedings of the Committees, 24, 25. difference between Committees of both Houses respecting the Church, &c. 26 n, 27. order concerning the Crown jewels in 1646, 28 n. inquiry of into the Royal revenue, 35. unpopularity of, 36. proceedings at a conference of the Committees of, 46. idea of adjourning or removing from London on account of the plague, 52, 55. proceedings of, on news of the "Incident," 57, 64. Parliament meets, 58 n. orders of concerning Berwick, 60 and n. proceedings against

Parliament—*(continued.)*
Sir J. Berkeley, &c. 60. corresponds with the Commissioners in Scotland, 60. proceedings concerning Bishops' votes, 61, 64 and n, 71. endeavours to keep alive the popular apprehension, 66. House of Peers makes order about jurisdiction of Archbishop of Canterbury, 65. examines Judge Berkeley, 66. chooses Speaker, 66, 93. debate in the Commons about Counsellors, &c. 42, 53, 68, 69, 86, 93. holds a conference about Prince's education, 74. dislikes the creation of new Bishops, 67 and n, 70, 71, 76. members of, commanded to attend, 68, 81, 90, 94, 100. proceedings of on the Irish Rebellion, 76, 78, 79, 82, 84, 86. treats with the City of London about payment of soldiers in Ireland, 78. considers of dissolving Capuchin Convent, &c. 33, 80. sends troops, &c. against the Irish, 84. King Charles sends letters on Irish Rebellion to the Committee, 84. considers of Instructions to English Commissioners at Edinburgh, 86, 89, 95. proceedings upon the Remonstrance on state of the Kingdom, 90, 96, 101, 106, 110. orders Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to raise Volunteers, 93. proceedings respecting Irish Rebellion, 96, 101, 103. plot against, 102, 106. affronts the Venetian Ambassador, and agent of Duke of Florence, 103. proceedings about the impeached Bishops, 98 and n, 104. intercepts letters of Mr. Crofts and Duchess of Chevereux, 107, 108. examines Colonel Goring, 108. march of the army under Sir William Waller, 116. agrees to a safe conduct for the Duke of Richmond and Earl of Southampton to Oxford, 125. persons sitting at Westminster not fit to be considered a Parliament, 126. beseiges Oxford, 1645, 127 n, 132 n. Fairfax defeats Goring at Sutton-field, and takes Bridgewater, 136 n. the King's contempt for the, 140. successes of their armies, 1646, 166—168. Marshal Melleray seizes English ships, 1652, 267, 270. beseiges Innisboffin, 1653, 279 and n; captures it, 282. Cromwell dissolves the Long Parliament, 197 n, 229 and n.
Parliamentary Debates referred to, v. 56 n.
Parliamentary History referred to, v. 24 n, 35 n, 39 n, 57 n, 62 n, 71 n, 95 n.
Pawell, Mons. v. 112, 249.
Pawlett, John, Marquis of Winchester, summoned by the Queen, 1641, v. 48.
Parsons, ———, v. 157.
Papists, laws against enforced, v. 102, 228, 229 n.
Penn, Admiral, v. 280.
Pennant, Thomas, his *Journey to the Isle of Wight* cited, v. 107 n.
Pennington, Sir John, v. 249. House of Peers stops his voyage to Ireland, 20 and n.——Isaac, *ibid.*
Pembroke, Philip Herbert, Earl of, made Governor of the Isle of Wight, v. 80 n. father of the Countess of Caernarvon, 89 n. a Commissioner at Newport, 1648, 173 n.
Percy, Henry, Lord, Lord Chamberlain to Charles II. in exile, v. 314, 316.
——— Henry (brother to Earl of Northumberland) proceedings in Parliament concerning, 1641, v. 5 n, 12, 14 n, 15, 75, 76 n.
Perfect Passages, 1652, a journal cited, v. 246 n, 266 n, 267 n.
Peters, Hugh, v. 312.
Philip IV. King of Spain, rumour of his death, v. 261.
Phillips, Father, v. 36 n, 192 n. committed by Parliament for refusing to be sworn on English Bible, 80 n. Queen Henrietta intercedes for him, 87 n.

Pierpoint, ———, a Commissioner at Newport, 1648, v. 173 n.
Piers, Dr. William, Bishop of Bath and Wells, questioned by the Parliament, 1641, v. 67 and n.
Pirates about Scilly and Jersey, 1650, v. 235.
Plague rages in London, 1641, v. 52, 55.
Plots, notices and references to various, v. 57, 66, 75 and n, 101, 102, 106.
Poland, state of, 1654, v. 211, 214, 215 n, 325.
Pollard, Sir Hugh, v. 137 n.
Pontefract Castle, seige of, 1648, v. 371, 372.
Popery, Charles I. suspected of encouraging, 1641, v. 31, 32, 144.
Portland, Jerome Weston, Earl of, 1641, v. 29 and n, 80 n, 106, 127.
————, Richard Weston, Earl of, Lord Treasurer, 1639, v. 226 and n.
Portugal, John IV. King of, v. 116.
Postage of letters, curious particulars of, v. 246 and n, 269 n.
Potts, John, a Commissioner at Newport, 1648, v. 173 n.
Presbyterians, Charles II. dislike of the, v. 182 and n.
Pretyman, Mr. v. 357.
Prideaux, Dr. John, 1641, v. 32. made Bishop of Worcester, 45 n.
Privy Council, various proceedings of, and notices relating to the, 1641, v. 12 m, 37, 38, 42, 51, 52, 54, 71, 76, 78, 83, 103. at Oxford, 124—126, 132, 133. improvement of, recommended to Charles II. 177, 178. adopted, 180.
Prizes, Royal, taken by Cruizers of Charles II. while in exile, proceedings respecting, &c. v. 235, 241 n, 265 n, 267 and n, 270, 271, 272, 276, 277, 279 n, 281 n, 284 n, 286 n, 288 n, 293 n, 294, 295, 297, 299, 302, 304, 309, 310, 323 n, 328, 370.
Proger, Mr. notice of, v. 97 n.
Pryce, Sir John, Governor of Montgomery Castle, 1645, v. 127.
Prynne, William, his speech on evil counsellors, v. 95 n.
Puleston, Judge, 1649, v. 373.
Pye, Sir Robert, v. 50.
Pym, John, mentioned, v. 36 n, 37, 39 n, 79 n. suspected of instigating the London apprentices, 37 n. opposes the punishment of, 101 n. opposes the removal of Parliament from London on account of the plague, 53. plot against, 101. character of in the *History of the King-Killers*, 101 n.

Queen Mother, Maria de' Medicis, Dowager of France, satirical ballad on burned, 1641, v. 12. her leaving England, 13, 18, 19 and n, 26. referred to, 144.

Ragny, Mr. v. 361, 362.
Rainsborough, Colonel, Cromwell sends him against Pontefract Castle. 1648-9, v. 372. killed, *ibid.* 373.
Rainsford, ——, trial alluded to, v. 154.
Ratcliffe, Sir George, account of, v. 322 n.
Recusants, Parliament orders the disarming of, &c. 1641, v. 6 and n, 16, 80, 94, 102, 228, 229 n.
Remonstrance of the House of Commons, 1641, proceedings upon, v. 90, 93, 101, 106, 110.
Rennes, Parliament of, arrests a servant of Charles II. 1659, 347.
Retz, John Francis Paul de Gondi, Cardinal de, intrigues of, v. 343 n.
Revenue, Royal, examined by the Parliament, 1641, v. 35.

Richards, Mr. v. 271, 307, 310, 313 *bis.*
Richelieu, Armand du Plessis, Cardinal, 161 n. prophecy respecting the Stuarts, 334 n. life of mentioned, 334, 338.
Richmond, James Stuart, Duke of Lenox and Duke of, 1641, referred to, v. 3 n, 42, 51, 53, 57 m, 63, 85, 87, 99, 105, 114, 121, 124, 125, 126, 177 m. sketch of his character, 28 n.
Ringingborough, Colonel, v. 168.
Roberts, Dr. William, Bishop of Bangor, questioned by the Parliament, 1641, v 67 and n.
Rochester, Deanery of vacated, 1641, v. 46 m.
Rohan, Mademoiselle de, account of, v. 113 n.
Royalty, or Masquerade, at Tilling, 1654-5, v. 217.
Rubies, King Charles I.'s collar of, his directions about disposal of, 1641, v. 28, 34, 46, 49, 55, 65, 72, 164.
Rudyard, Sir Benjamin, v. 111 n. opposes sending the Irish regiments to Spain, 1641, 10 n.
RUPERT, Prince, various references to, v. 113, 116, 121, 124, 234, 242 n, 267, 279, 281 n, 291 n, 296, 368. King Charles I.'s directions to, before the battle of Marston Moor, 121—124 and notes. letters, to Earl of Essex, about pass for Royal Commissioners to the Parliament, 1644, 125, 126; to Sir Edward Nicholas, on the royal cause, 1645, 136. forced to quit Bath, 136, 139. surrenders Bristol, 146, 147, 149 and n. Charles I.'s proceedings against in consequence, 147, 148. quarrels with Lord Digby about defeat at Sherbourne, 150 n. petition in consequence, 150. naval proceedings for Charles II. 1651, 370; 1652, 244 and n, 266, 267 n.; 1653, 279 n, 280 n, 281 n. governed by Sir E. Herbert, 284 n. Master of the Horse, 1653, 288 n, 316 n. is nearly drowned in the Seine, 298 n. allusions to, concerning prizes to Charles II. in exile, 266 n, 267 n, 279 n, 288 n, 294, 297, 299, 304, 310, 311, 314.
Rushworth, John, his *Historical Collections* referred to, v. 18 n, 27 n, 34 n.
Rutland, John Manners, Earl of, v. 167 n.

Sadlington, Captain, v. 291 and n.
Salisbury, William Cecil, Earl of, a commissioner at Newport, 1648, v. 173 n.
Saltpetre, mine of, Parliament considers about preserving, 1641, v. 17.
Say and Sele, William Fiennes, Viscount, a commissioner at Newport, 1648, v. 173 n.
Sayers, John, v. 217.
Schomberg, ——, v. 259.
Scotch Army, employed against Irish Rebels, 1541, v. 96, 101. enters England, 1644, 114 n, 117. besieges York, 122 n. in Wales, 1645, 138. promise given by the King of those who should go with him to the, 160. exacted by King Charles on going to them, 171.
Scotch Troops in the service of the French Crown, 1648, v. 353.
SCOTLAND, King Charles I.'s expedition to, for arranging with the Parliament there, 1641, v. 3 n. his reception there, 4. negociations with the Parliament of, 5 n. Parliamentary commissoners sent to, 11 m, 16 n, 23, 24, 36 n, 57. various notices concerning the kingdom, and Parliament of, 30, 40, 42, 43 and n. treaty for, 114. proceedings concerning, 120. intrigues of France with, 158. dispute with the English independents, 238, 239. King Charles II.'s expedition to, 1650, 181 n. various tidings from, 1651, 369, 370.
Selden, John, Act of Oblivion interpreted by, 1641, v. 12.

Severall Proceedings, journal so called, 1652, v. 262 n, 268 n, 291 n.
Seymour, Francis, Lord, summoned by the Queen, 1641, v. 48. notice of the family, 71 n. referred to, 114 n, 124.
Shawsey Island, v. 286 n.
Sheriffs of London, dispute on the choice of, 1641, v. 11 n. bill for, 83 and m.
Ships for protecting commerce ordered by the Parliament, 1641, v. 18 n.
Shute, Mr. ——, 1641, v. 32 and n. *Sidney Papers* referred to, 192 n.
Skinner, Dr. Robert, Bishop of Bristol, questioned by the Parliament, 1641, v. 67 and n.
Skippon, Serjeant-Major-General, Philip, v. 82 n.
Skipwith, Sir Fulmar, v. 115 and n. Smith, Mr. speech in House of Commons about election of officers, &c. v. 68 and n, 69.
——— Capt. v. 94, *ibid.* his gallantry at battle of Edge-hill, 1642, 73.
——— Capt. v. 286, 319, 330. taken prisoner by the rebels, 1656, 330 n.
Soiret, Mons. v. 212, 216.
Somers, John, Lord, his *Collection of Tracts*, 1748, referred to, v. 78 n.
Sourdiac, Marquis de, v. 285.
Southampton, Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of, referred to, v. 61 m, 68, 90 and n, 114 n, 117, 121, 124, 125, 126, 132, 135, 165, 177 m. King Charles I. requires his attendance in Parliament, 1641, 100.
Souvray, Commandeur de, Ambassador for Knights of Malta, 1648, v. 367.
Spain, expected war with England, 1656, v. 340 n.
Spencer, Mr. v. 362.
Stamford, Mayor, addresses King Charles I. on his return from Scotland, 112 n.
Star-Chamber, proceedings of, against London, v. 18 n. suspension of Bishop Williams by, 46 n.
Starkey, ———, Lord Clarendon's estimate of, v. 255, 256.
Stephens, Mr. v. 366, 367.
Stewart, Dr. v. 114 n. his illness, 251. account of, *ibid.* n.
Stiles, Rev. Dr. his *History of three of the Judges of Charles* II. 1794, v. 174 n.
St. Paul's Cathedral, Deanery of, vacated, 1641, v. 46 m.
Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of, 95 n. Lord Bristol's hostility to, v. 61 n. referred to, 79 n, 222 n.
Strangeways, Sir John, supports King Charles I.'s right to elect his Counsellors, &c. 70 and n.
Strickland, Mr. Walter, 227.
St. Sebastian's, English, Scotch, and Irish, turned out of, 1656, v. 340, 342.
Suckling, Sir John, proceedings of the Parliament against, 1641, v. 5.
Superstition, instances of, 1641, v. 19 n, 70 n, 84 n, 1656, 334 n.
Superstitious Rites, &c. prohibited by the Parliament, 1641, v. 23 n.
Sussex, Thomas Sackville, Earl of, v. 124, 140 n.
Swann, Sir William, v. 207.
——— Lady, v. 210.
Swart, Capt. in navy of Charles II. 1653, v. 286.

Taaffe, Theobald, 2d Viscount, Charles II.'s Envoy to Duke of Lorraine, 1652, v. 263.
Tarente, Henry Charles de la Tremouille, Prince of, 1654, v. 194 and n.

Tarente, Emilia, of Hesse Cassel, Princess of, 1654, v. 194 and n. portrait, 200.
Taunton, siege of, v. 129 n.
Taylor, Charles II.'s agent in Germany, 1652, Sir Edward Hyde's opinion of, v. 256.
Terringham, Colonel, v. 136.
Theobald's Palace in Hertfordshire, King Charles I. at, 1641, v. 108, 109, 110.
Thomson, ——, his report of a battle in Scotland, v. 202.
Thorp, Baron, 1649, v. 373.
Tickenhall, notice of, v. 121 and n.
Tirel, Colonel, v. 352.
Tonnage and Poundage, Bill of passed, 1641, v. 5 n. 35. Act of, Navy provided for by, 17 and n. allowance to merchants by, omitted by Parliament, supplied by Charles I., 21, 22. necessity of, for the exigencies of the King, 52.
Torgu, Marshal, v. 296.
Tower of London, garrison reinforced, 1641, v. 6.
Towers, Dr. John, Bishop of Peterborough, questioned by the Parliament, 1641, v. 67 n.
Trained Bands keep guard over London, night and day, v. 57. guard the Parliament, 66.
Treaty of Oxford, Charles I. Memorial for the, v. 120.
Tredagh, prepares against Irish Rebels, 1641, v. 96.
Turenne, Marshal, v. 278 n, 312 n.
Twisden, Mrs. Letter of Charles II. about the George and Seals of Charles I., v. 183.

Valenciennes, proceedings against alluded to, 1656, v. 337.
Vane, Sir Harry, Secretary to Charles I. v. 58 *bis.* his confidence in, 19 n. and n. referred to, as Mr. Treasurer, 11, 25, 27 and n, 29, 30, 42, 51, 53, 63, 65, 68, 71, 73, 77, 83 *bis*, 85, 89.
—————— the younger, v. 42, 173 n. letters to (March, 1645-6), for his interest that King Charles I. might come to London, 158, 159, 160.
Van Tromp, Admiral Martin Happertz, v. 291 n.
Varennes, Mons. de, intendant Marquis de Castlenau, v. 309, 310, 311.
Vaubecour, ——, v. 365.
Vavasor, ——, v. 124.
Vendôme, Duke de, v. 267, 296.
Venetian Ambassador, Parliament offers an affront to, 1641, v. 103.
Venice, States of, Envoy of Charles II. ill-treated by, 1652, v. 258, 259.
Venn, Capt. suppresses tumults of the London apprentices, 1641, v. 37 n.
Verney, Sir Edward, killed at battle of Edgehill, v. 73.
Vicfort, ——, v. 217.
Ushant, Isle of, enterprize against, 1653, v. 286.
Usher, Dr. James, Archbishop of Armagh, translated to Carlisle, 1641, v. 46 n.
Vulpone, references to, under this name, v. 117, 133 *bis.* 140.
Uxbridge, Treaty of, 1644, Royal Commissioners for, v. 114 n. fast on occasion of, 116 and n. Common Prayer refused to be read in the Church of, *ibid.* Charles I.'s remarks and directions concerning, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121. his memorial concerning Religion and the Militia, 120.

Walker, Clement, *History of Independency*, 1648, cited, v. 116 n, 227 n.
——— Sir Edward, Garter King of Arms, v. 79 n, 121 n.
Waller, Edmund, v. 34 n, 36 n, 76 n.
——— Edward, supports King's right to elect his Counsellors, v. 70.
——— Sir William, his army, 1644, 115 n, 116 and n. pursues King Charles I. from Oxford, and is defeated at Cropredy Bridge, 122 n.
Wallops, ——, v. 128.
Warner, Dr. John, Bishop of Rochester, questioned by the Parliament, 1641, v. 67 n.
Warwick, Robert Rich, Earl of, made Commander of the Fleet, v. 20 n. protests against an order of the Commons, 1641, 26 n. character of, 1641, 75 n. referred to, 249 n.
Warwick, Sir Philip, instance of Charles I.'s indulgence to Sir H. Vane, mentioned by, v. 19 n. referred to, 161 n, 172 n, 198 n.
Webb, Mr. letter to Parliament intercepted, v. 88.
Wenman, ——, a commissioner at Newport, 1648, v. 173 n.
Wentworth, William, Lord, 1654, v. 137 n, 196, 198, 199, 204, 208, 259 and n. sketch of, 212 n.
Westfield, Dr. Thomas, made Bishop of Bristol, 1641, v. 45 n.
Westminster, sickness in, 1641, v 30. deanery of vacant, 46 m. and n.
Wharton, Philip, Earl of, protests against an order in the Commons, 1641, v. 26 n.
Whitefoord, ——, v. 146.
Whitehall, King Charles I. at, 1641, v. 108, 110. affray at, 70 n.
Whitelocke, Bulstrode, his *Memorials of English Affairs*, 1721, 61 n, 84 n, 110 n, 123 n, 129 n, 135 n, 150 n, 160 n, 161 n, 212 n, 371, 373 n. referred to, v. 44 n,
Williams, Dr. John, Bishop of Lincoln, made Archbishop of York, 1641, v. 46 n, 90, 105 and n. draws up pardon of the impeached Bishops, 1641, 98.
——— Count, v. 191 and n.
Wilmot, Col. proceedings against, 1641, v. 11, 14 n.
——— Henry, Lord, v. 263 n. created Earl of Rochester, 268 n. ambassador to Germany, 1652, 256 and n, 268.
Wimmenom, Mons. de, v. 200.
Winchester, John Paulet, Marquis of, 1645, v. 128.
Windham, Mr. office in the exiled Court of Charles II. 1652, v. 295 and n, 368.
——— Sir Thomas, enjoins his children to be loyal to their King, 1636, v. 137 n.
——— Col. defended Bridgewater for the King, v. 136 n.
Windsor Forest, deer in attacked, 1641, v. 16. King Charles's directions respecting, *ibid.* m, 21, 22,
Winstanley, William, his *Loyal Martyrologie*, cited, v. 75 n.
Wiston, Nottinghamshire, v. 129 and n.
Withering, ——, v. 25, 30.
Wolsey, Cardinal Thomas, the day of his fall, v. 84 n.
Woodstock, garrisoned, 1644, v. 116.
Worcester, battle of, 1652, v. 188 n.
——— Edward Somerset, Marquis of, v. 366.
Wren, Dr. Matthew, Bishop of Ely, questioned by the Parliament, 1641, v. 67 n.
Wright, Sir Edmund, made Lord Mayor of London by the Parliament, 1641, v. 11 n.

Wright, Dr. Robert, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, questioned by the Parliament, 1641, v. 67 and n.

York, Mayor of, speech to Charles I. on his return from Scotland, 1641, v. 111 n.
—— siege of, 122 n, 123 and n, 124.

Zolern, Francisca, Princess of, 1654, v. 207 and n.

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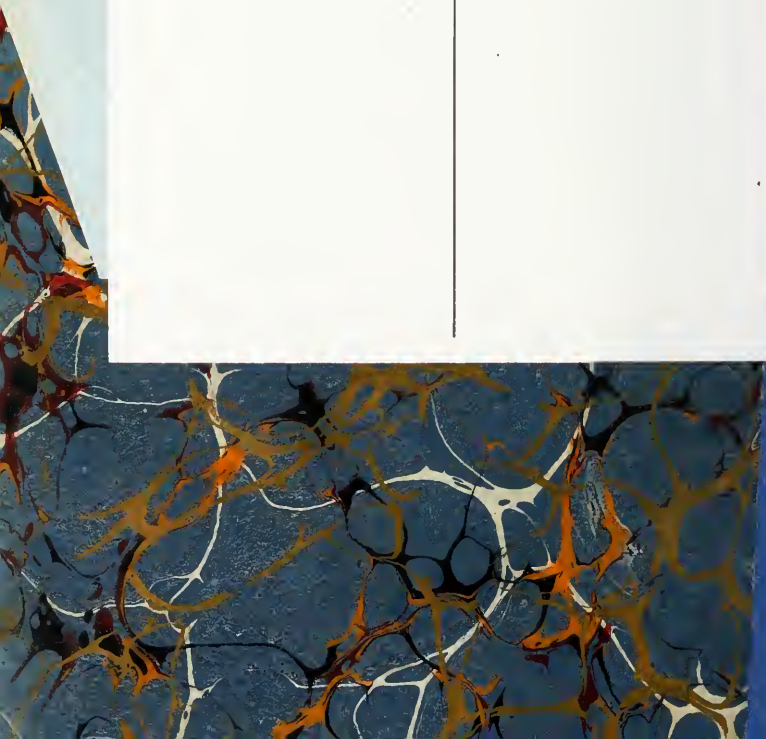

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